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The Population Explosion and Its Relationship to Africa

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

About a century ago the view was held in many quarters that the African was either in danger of extinction or at any rate that his numbers were stable in relation to the rest of the world population. Africa, therefore, provided no problem either internally so far as Africans were concerned in their need to share their own resources, or externally in their demand on world resources and living space. Suddenly all this has changed. It is a problem which has been radically changing at an ever-accelerating speed within the lifetime of most of us.

The change has been due to a variety of causes. These are primarily due to direct interference with the African way of life or ecology, by external forces which are basically derived from the White world. In brief these are: —

(i) The Colonial powers occupied most of Africa and imposed peace upon large areas where tribal war was endemic. This prevented the destruction of large sections of the young adult manhood among the Negroid tribes. Often enough, with that loss of life through warfare, there came about the destruction of the economy, as a result of which starvation occurred and with it a degree of malnutrition which was sufficient to lead to the weakening of physical resistance. This resulted in an increased death rate and where it did not to a feeble population. Thus there was a less vigorous replacement of the demographic damage done by the wars which had led to these conditions.

(ii) The Colonial powers, and particularly Britain and France, stamped out much of the slavery of Africa. At the advent of colonialism slavery was prevalent all over the continent, and still is in some limited areas such as the more inaccessible and northerly areas in West Africa and in Ethiopia. The main agents of slavery were the Arabs. From the central regions of Africa they took out vast numbers of slaves through the Sudan — 50,000 a year has been mentioned as a figure of slaves who passed along this route. Through Zanzibar they brought like numbers out from the Congo and Central Africa to the Arab coastal settlements and Zanzibar. Zanzibar slave masters even controlled the eastern Congo — a thousand miles or more from their base.

To understand the influence this had on the demography some idea of what slave raiding meant has to be appreciated. First of all Arab slave-raiders passed into the interior, usually through the

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territory of Negro tribes who had come to an understanding with them and who received from the Arabs a payment for the right of passage. Often these Negro tribes also raided their more remote and weaker neighbours and had slaves ready to sell to the Arabs when they came along. The Nguni, in Malawi, for instance, raided such neighbours as the Tongas. Having reached the area in which they had planned their operations the Arabs attacked villages, shot down adult males, and took women and children. Apparently they had little interest in the men as slaves.

By the time the slave caravans had reached places like Khartoum — and no doubt the same was true of the Arab settlements on the east coast of Africa — many of the women and children had died on the march, and those that survived were sold. Since a proportion of these slaves went to Arabia and other Moslem countries, and since there was a high demand for eunuchs, large numbers of the boys were castrated. It has been said that from the Sudan alone as many as nine out of ten died from this operation and that this accounted for the fact that a eunuch cost ten times more than other male slaves.

It will be realised that as a result of this slave raiding not only were whole areas seriously reduced in population, but the frequent alarms must have led to a diminution of labour on crops and to a situation of starvation and near starvation over areas well beyond the reach of the slave-raiding companies. At the same time the competition among the stronger Negro tribes for " black ivory " to sell to the Arabs led to more warfare than would have otherwise been the case.

It is clear that the extinction of slavery by the Colonial powers and the curbing of the Moslem appetite for slaves must have been a major factor in setting the stage for the present population explosion.

(iii) Missionary activity has also been a potent factor. For instance, one of the first things the missions have done is to stamp out polygamy to a large degree. A consequence of this, which is not generally realised, is that a White male may have many children in a polygamous society, yet the number of children the wives have are usually much fewer than those women would bear in monogamous unions. At the other end of the scale there were large numbers of men who had no wives and therefore had no children — except in so far as they resorted to prostitutes, who may have children. But the number of offspring the prostitutes may bear has no relation at all to the number of children those men would have produced in a monogamous society. For instance, John Dunn of Zululand had 47 Bantu and one Coloured wife, but the children he sired worked out at scarcely more than two per

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woman. Those same women would probably have had eight or more children each in a monogamous situation.

The effect of taking the European social marital structure to Africa and imposing it with all the sanctions of religion on the Negroes as obligatory for Christians, cannot have been other than to increase the rate of increase of the population. It is significant how alien monogamy is to Africa when we look at current breakings away from the orthodox form of Christianity which are now observable from West to East in Africa. One of the essential teachings of most of these indigenous Churches is the doctrine of polygamy. In so far as these groups are reverting to pre-Christian practices they may go some way towards stopping the abnormal increase which has been due to the attempt to enforce monogamy. However, much will depend on how far these indigenous Churches take a real hold of the population in the Christianised areas. That they are likely to be more suited to the African mentality goes without saying. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that there is resistance to monogamy even among these who pretend to be orthodox Christians. For instance, in South Africa one will find in an obviously polygamous family unit the situation of technical monogamy, where one woman is the "church" wife, and the others are customary wives, not paraded before the missionary. While this may show that monogamy has not always made as great an inroad upon Negro social conditions as may seem at first sight, it has made sufficient to the extent that many more unions are monogamous than they would have been in an entirely native society untouched by a Europeanised form of Christianity. In so far as that is the case, it means that the population increase has been aggravated from that source.

(iv) From missionary activity — later supplemented by the whole of the welfare and medical services of the state — there have come a series of medical measures which have prevented from dying a large proportion of the African population who would normally have done so. At the same time, these agencies — missionary and state — have done nothing to stop the rate of reproduction. Thus the eradication of malaria over large areas, the reduction of fevers of every kind and incidence of other lethal diseases, have made a marked contribution to survival. Because of the astonishing developments of medical science from the time of the First World War, and particularly since the Second World War, we are seeing an acceleration of this process with each year that passes. This has meant a marked contribution to the outstanding increase of population which is now upon us and which is such as the continent of Africa has never experienced.

(v) The coming of an industrial society in many large areas,

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and particularly in South Africa, has meant that the Bantu have been provided with work where this would have been impossible before. The result of this has meant that millions of Bantu now work in industry, and mechanised large-scale farming — mainly European — has to be employed to provide food for these workers. No longer are such Bantu dependent on their own farming efforts, and on whether droughts and declining fertility can be avoided. The result is that they are now ensured all the resources of a normal life such as only the Europeans have had in the past. This means that death from starvation, or at least malnutrition, in babyhood from this cause is avoided in an ever-increasing measure. At the same time there are hospitals and clinics in such urban societies catering for the Bantu even more efficiently than the medical services can do in tribal areas, as a result of which the toll of disease is reduced in an ever-increasing degree.

(vi) Where native governments have come into existence outside White countries such as in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories, aid provided essentially from the European peoples, either direct or through the United Nations, has been poured in on a mammoth scale such as was never experienced in the days of Colonial government. The sums of money which Kenya or Tanzania, or any other country in Africa today, receive from Britain, America, Germany, France, and other European countries, apart from lesser amounts from Russia and China, are such that for the time being they are producing in these countries a state of prosperity which is carrying African states along the road of development similar to that which we see in Southern Africa. These vast sums, added to the work of the medical services of every kind, are accelerating the rate of conquest of death, and we are left with an ever-developing problem of population increase. Of course, in the case of these countries, it does not follow that this rate would continue if these extraordinary and vast sums of money were not poured into the economies of these countries. But we are dealing with what are the facts of the case as things are at this moment. Although all Africa is set upon this road of development it should be pointed out that the state of well-being of the peoples of these countries, even with this vast aid, has not yet reached that of the Bantu in Southern Africa, and particularly in South Africa. There the Bantu earn many times more per month than in most parts of Africa. However, the trend is exactly the same as in South Africa, even if not comparable in degree. For that reason the population explosion is even more serious in Southern Africa than in the rest of Africa.

(vii) Interference with tribal customs, not only in respect of

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such matters as polygamy, which has been the penchant both of the missionary and the Colonial, and now state, administrator, has also had effects in the same direction. For instance, in many parts of Africa, if not in all the lands of the Negroes, it has been the custom to kill one of each twin. This has been stopped. Secondly, it was always the custom for women to suckle their children for two or three years from birth. During that time it was the custom also that the men had no sexual relations with their women. This alone was a good and natural birth control factor. Because European women do not behave in this way, European influence has been to persuade the Negroes to give up these customs. Because of this failure to nurse their children in the natural African manner the children are often put on to mealy pap and other unsuitable food, as a result of which the medical authorities have to step in and supplement the diet, or by means of medication, cure conditions which would not have arisen normally.

In all this the Europeans, religious or secular, have waged an unremitting war against the witch doctors, while in our own society, in the form of psychiatrists, we have been encouraging the development of a profession which performs a similar function. While much of what the witch doctors may have taught may have been medically useless, it was not necessarily so psychologically, and in any case there was a residual herbalism which was often beneficial. In this connection, in some quarters at any rate, tribal medical lore did know of birth control measures which could be applied. The breaking up in large areas of Africa of a group of people who were capable of, and did sometimes apply, birth control measures was a further move in accentuating the population increase.

More could be written on the detailed factors which the European impact on Africa, both in the past and at the present time, have produced. These few notes, however, are sufficient to indicate that it is the direct interference of the European in the natural human or ethnic ecology of Africa which is responsible for the present population explosion in that vast continent. It is no wonder that in at least one Bantu language the Europeans are called " Meddlers."

We may now consider what is the result of our thoughtless, and indeed, in some cases wrong-headed, interference with African ecology. Internally, this means that the Bantu and Negro population as a whole is increasing at such a rate that once the sources of external aid dry up — as surely they must some day since the other races of the world cannot be expected to prop up the Negroes for ever as permanent pensioners, draining themselves of their own vital reserves — whole areas of Africa must be faced with starvation. For the population will in many districts have become too great for the land to bear. Even the creation of big

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Negro industrial proletariat populations will not be likely to assist these countries in the long term. Is it likely that the craftsmanship and economies of these countries can compete successfully in world markets against Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore or India? It is most unlikely. The result is that once they have satisfied their own domestic needs it is unlikely that they will have any future in exporting, and if they have not they cannot win the foreign currency with which food can be bought from the great White grain-producing countries. The only exception, within limits, to this statement is where the mining industries of Africa are concerned, the raw materials of which are required by overseas countries. Nevertheless minerals (including oil) are wasting assets. One has only to see the derelict condition of the once great tin mining complex of Cornwall to realise that no permanent industrial prosperity can be erected on mining alone.

Therefore, it is not going too far to say that if the aid being given to Black Africa stopped, and if the yields of the mines in White Africa fell consistently and no White industry were there to supply employment in some other direction, then the Negro peoples in much of the more advanced parts of Africa today would already be facing a situation of a serious nature from their overpopulation. By the time these things happen — the decline and failure of aid, and the drying up of employment in mining and other industries, as the mines shrink in importance and automation takes over more and more — the Black population of Africa will be much greater than it is today. The resulting situation which the Negroes face is not only going to be extremely serious but worse than it would be now. In the near future the result of modern medical ideas will have progressed deeper and deeper into the bush, with all their interference with the native way of life. A population increase will have occurred at an even more accelerated rate than that which we are now observing.

Already the invasion of northern America and Britain by Negroes from the Southern States, the Caribbean, and Africa indicates that the Negro population explosion is in fact threatening the living space of the White nations.

We are, however, in a transitory period, owing to external forces of an unprecedented kind which give a false appearance of better and ever better conditions for everyone, and particularly the Negroes of Africa. This condition of things will not remain permanently. It will be succeeded by the inexorable laws of nature. These are that territories will carry only a certain fixed population, in accordance with the resources of that land (in agriculture and minerals), the capability of the population, and the fitness of the people to occupy a given geographic region.

Because we are living in times in which egalitarianism of

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classes, ethnic groups, and races has become a dogma to which all must assent, or risk being treated as heretic, the assumption is that all men are equally capable in all fields and in all directions. On this assumption it is assumed that this mammoth aid will enable the native populations of Africa to spring into an industrial renaissance such as that which occurred successively in Britain, then Europe and America, and later Japan. The fallacy is that these are peoples who from their earliest times have shown technological interests and potential — this is not necessarily the case where other stocks are concerned. In fact where the Negro populations are involved there has been a marked lack of interest in this field from the most primitive times to the present. It is therefore most unlikely that they will have the potential to maintain heavily agglomerated industrial societies, which will be able to earn a living in the highly competitive market of world trade. It seems almost certain that these Negroid countries will always remain basically primary producers. Even if this should appear to be too pessimistic a view, there are going to be no surpluses to feed to Negro populations in a world which has a bounding population increase, since the White peoples themselves will require those agriculture products for their own increasing populations and ever-rising standards of living. This increase will also force them to defend their own living space from Negro invasion and by so doing push the Black people back into the hot lands whence they came.[1]

It is therefore clear that there is no future for a Black Africa (or even a Black Southern Africa) in which there is an ever-increasing rise in the population. Any future of a population must be geared, ultimately, to the food supply of its own territory and the energy and ability of the people living in it.

It seems certain, as a result therefore, that the standard of living of the African peoples cannot go on rising, and is likely to fall disastrously once aid or mineral wastage has occurred.

When we come to consider the African countries in their external relations this sharp increase of population is also a matter of some moment, as well as cause for very grave concern. For among themselves it will make for expansionism where one country is feeling the pressures of population too acutely. Furthermore, it may lead to genocide, since most of these states are arbitrary creations of the Colonial powers without any ethnic or organic basis. One can imagine quite well how pastoralists, such as the Masai, could suffer at the hands of agricultural Kikuyu and Kamba. In their totality, with their bursting populations, the

[1] The first step in this direction is the British Labour Government's measure (August 1965) to restrict "coloured" settlement in Britain to some 8500 heads of families a year.

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African states would also be a menace to other better organised countries. This necessity for living space and food could well force the Black peoples into hopeless adventures which could lead to wars against the White countries of Southern Africa, to cite one possibility only.

When we come to study the position of Southern Africa we can readily see how impossible it will be to establish self-governing Bantustans in the light of unrestricted population increases of the Bantu. These territories will need to be given more and more territory to sustain their ever-increasing populations. This will not only be depriving the White people of farm lands, but of those very lands from the surpluses of which the Bantu are being sustained in the industrial areas. Furthermore, this increase will be most noticeable in those industrial areas which are, not a little, based on a mining economy from the past. Since this is a wasting economy a time must come when the mines will become worked out, and a huge, and much increased, Bantu population will be left as a detribalised, landless, underfed proletariat. This would turn on the White man, and the White people would be compelled to suppress it, even with the utmost of violence in order to save themselves.

Therefore, when we consider this problem in all its aspects, from the point of view of the living standards of the Negroes themselves, from that of ensuring the survival of the newly created states, or that of the White people in Southern Africa, it is quite clear that on this one issue the self-interest of all dictates that family planning, more than hospitals, new drugs, welfare schemes, external aid, and the establishment of industries, is the most urgent problem for modern Africa.

The first target should be the ending of the population increase. All aid, all welfare, should be accompanied by family planning assistance to end the increase of population. Only in this way can the people of Africa be assured a decent future. In this way only can an eventual conflict between Black and White in Southern Africa be prevented. This is also the only path which will reduce the pressure upon Negroid peoples to invade the living space of the White peoples which is now occurring. Despite the optimists and idealists this is a situation which, if it continues, is fraught with dangers of racial conflict such as we have not seen before. In the end genocide will occur if there is unrestricted immigration into the temperate zones from the tropical and equatorial continents. For long before the climatic conditions would have decimated the Negroids the White people will have been forced to do that very thing to protect themselves in those very regions in which nature has ordained they should live.

Simple birth control assistance will have to be given on a

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mammoth scale, as and when effective, safe, and easy means of applying it are created. Meanwhile all those indigenous customs and methods which limited population, and which are capable of application in a modern society, should be encouraged. The growth of indigenous Churches and the advance of Islam, much as these are deplored by the European Christian Churches, may well make a contribution in this direction by their encouragement of polygamy. This is only one facet, and not necessarily the most important, of this problem. Nevertheless, in a situation of this kind, every contributory cause no matter how slight is to be welcomed. Instead of assistance being particularly afforded to those women with large numbers of children, the very opposite should be the case. In fact there is good reason to encourage small families by all the economic and welfare means possible, and to discourage the large family.

Already, however, there is considerable opposition being built up by the Negro racialist against birth control. In Southern Africa he argues that the White man wishes to apply birth control to reduce his numbers in relation to the European population. He seems incapable of seeing that over-population is a disaster which will overwhelm him, and in which he will suffer more than the European. This attitude on his part has been encouraged by indiscriminate charities from the White man. All his past experience has been that missionary, hospital, employers, the state, in turn and collectively, will give charity to ensure, no matter how improvident he is, he and the progeny he irresponsibly creates will be provided for by these agencies. Therefore, to tell him that he must limit his population growth for his own good is simply not believed. Racialism is never far beneath the surface where different stocks come into contact, and the Negro at once puts a racialist interpretation upon the advocacy of birth control.

Another factor which militates against population control is the Negro's philogenitiveness. He is normally not much concerned with whether the Negress wants more children or not: the fact is he does.

We have said nothing in this discussion of the eugenic aspects of the case. But the fact is that in the prevailing welfare society which Europeans tend to create, the breeding expands most successfully at the base of the social pyramid. This is no assistance to any people, and is a downright disservice to them in the long run. For instance, the family allowances system in Britain must end in the encouragement of breeding at a higher rate from the genetically less ably endowed section of the community. In this respect African polygamy was probably eugenic, as it meant the most able men reproduced adequately, while the less able males had little or no opportunity for reproduction at all.

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We are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the impact of White charity and good-will on Africa from Colonial times onwards has not been to the ultimate benefit of the Africans since these things have sown this population explosion. The continuation of this impact by all the aid agencies created in America, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, are not a continued post-Colonial service beneficial to the Negroes. On the contrary, they are a potential source of danger to world stability and peace. A halting, therefore, of the mad population explosion of our times is a *sine qua non* to all questions of erecting a stable and peaceful world. Aid should be related to stabilisation of population growth if we are to avoid racial strife of unprecedented dimensions.

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National and Racial Differences in Anxiety

By R. LYNN

The thesis to be presented in this paper proposes firstly that there are differences in the level of anxiety among the populations of advanced Western nations; and secondly that one factor responsible for these differences lies in the racial composition of the population.

THE MEANING OF ANXIETY

Anxiety is conceptualised by psychologists as a personality trait continuously distributed throughout a population in the same way as height and weight. The concept has a venerable history. Some such notion seems to have underlain Hippocrates' distinction between the melancholic and choleric (both high anxiety) and the phlegmatic and sanguine (low anxiety) personality types. In contemporary psychology anxiety is a major variable in several important personality theories, notably those of R. B. Cattell and H. J. Eysenck.[1]

Although there is no complete agreement on the nature of anxiety, it is probably most commonly defined in terms of the reactivity of the sympathetic nervous system to stimulation and stress. Such stimulation gives rise to a variety of physiological reactions, some of the most important being an acceleration of heart rate and respiration rate, vaso-constriction in the fingers, an increase in muscle potential, an increase in frequency and decrease in amplitude of E.E.G. rhythms, pupil dilation, and the psychogalvanic reaction (palmar sweating). The amplitudes of these sympathetic reactions are generally found to be positively intercorrelated (although the intercorrelations are quite low), and the anxious person is the person who gives large reactions. It is also possible to assess an individual's anxiety level by questionnaires which ask how much the subject experiences various symptoms of anxiety, such as sleep difficulties, periodic depression, fluctuations in energy level, psychosomatic complaints, panic reactions, nervous tension and so forth. High scores on such questionnaires are associated with high levels of sympathetic reactivity on the physiological indices listed above.

[1] R. B. Cattell, *Personality and Motivation Structure and Measurement*, World Book Company, New York, 1957. H. J. Eysenck and S. B. G. Eysenck, *Personality Structure and Measurement*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1970.

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Any population has a mean anxiety level and it is an interesting question whether the means may differ from one nation to another. It would be possible to answer this question by taking random samples from the populations of different countries and comparing them on various measures of anxiety. Such an investigation, however, would be exceedingly difficult to carry out although perfectly feasible in principle.

In order to overcome these difficulties we have approached the problem from a different angle. The method is to assemble a number of epidemiological and similar variables which would be expected in a nation with a high anxiety level. These variables include such things as the suicide rate, the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, the death rate from duodenal ulcers and so on. It has to be shown that these all intercorrelate (as with items in a personality test or intelligence test) thereby indicating the existence of a single underlying factor. If this can be done, the epidemiological variables can be treated as scores from which the anxiety levels in different populations can be calculated. Thus the method is simply to treat nations' " scores " on epidemiological variables in the same way as individuals' scores on personality tests are treated in conventional personality measurement.

THE MEASURES

The measures used will now be described. It is not possible in the space of this article to justify in detail the theoretical reasons for believing the measures to be indices of national anxiety levels. For such fuller justification the reader is referred elsewhere.[2] The following measures were used and all were taken for the year 1960 or, if figures for this year were not available, 1961. All measures are *per capita* unless otherwise stated.

1. Suicide rate. The prediction is that a population with a high anxiety level would have a high suicide rate, following the findings that individuals who attempt suicide are considerably higher than normal in anxiety.[3]

2. Duodenal and gastric ulcer death rate. The prediction is that anxious populations would have high death rates, following the evidence for an association between ulcer formation and anxiety in individuals.[4]

[2] R. Lynn, *Personality and National Character*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1970.

[3] A. E. Phillip, "Traits, Attitudes and Symptoms in a Group of Attempted Suicides," *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 1970, 116, 475-482.

[4] R. W. Porter *et al*, "Some Experimental Observations on Gastrointestinal Lesions in Behaviourally Conditioned Monkeys", *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1958, 20, 379-394.

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3. Calorie intake. The prediction is that anxious populations would have a low calorie intake, following the evidence that anxiety tends to inhibit the appetite.[5]

4. Liver cirrhosis and alcoholism death rates. These are commonly used as indices of alcoholism. The prediction is that they would be high among anxious populations, following the evidence for an association between alcoholism and anxiety in individuals.[6]

5. Coronary heart disease and atherosclerosis death rates. The prediction is that anxious populations would have low death rates. The reason for this is the association between these deaths and excessive calorie intake.[7] Thus a high anxiety population should have a low calorie intake and hence a low death rate from coronary heart disease and atherosclerosis.

6. Cigarette consumption. It is expected that a high anxiety population would have a low cigarette consumption, following the evidence for a negative relation between anxiety and cigarette consumption in individuals.[8]

7. Mental illness. The prediction is that high anxiety populations would have a low rate of hospitalised mental illness, as assessed by the numbers in mental hospitals on a particular date. This measure largely reflects the number of chronic psychotics, in whom there is evidence of a low level of anxiety.[9]

8. Deaths in vehicle accidents. The prediction is that high anxiety populations would have a high accident rate, following the evidence for an association between anxiety and accident proneness.[10] The accident rate is taken per vehicle to allow for differences in the number of vehicles.

9. Hypertension death rate. The prediction is that high anxiety populations would have high death rates, following some evidence of a relationship between hypertension and anxiety. This predic-

[5] E. Gellhorn, *Physiological Foundations of Neurology and Psychiatry*, University of Minneapolis Press, Minneapolis, 1956.

[6] C. M. Franks, "Alcohol, Alcoholism and Conditioning," *Journal of Mental Science*, 1958, 104, 14-33.

[7] J. C. McKenzie, *Obesity and Disease*, Office of Health Economics, London, 1969.

[8] H. J. Eysenck, *Smoking, Health and Personality*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1965.

[9] R. Lynn, "Russian Theory and Research on Schizophrenia," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1963.

[10] R. B. Cattell, *Handbook for the 16PF*, IPAT, Illinois, 1964.

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tion is, however, a weak one, since some studies have shown no relation between hypertension and anxiety.[11]

10. Murder rate. The expectation was that murder rates would be high in anxiety countries, but this was more of a surmise than a prediction on the basis of an established relationship of a high anxiety level in murderers.

11. Celibacy rate. The expectation was that there might be a high proportion of unmarried people in high anxiety countries. This was based on the Freudian notion of a relationship between anxiety and sexual maladjustment, of which a low marriage rate might be an index. Like the murder rate, this possibility was a surmise rather than a prediction.

THE NATIONS

The nations considered were all the advanced Western nations. A category of this kind inevitably involves setting up criteria and the following were used. For inclusion, a nation had to have a population of at least one million throughout the decade 1950-60 and a per capita income of over 450 United States dollars in 1961; and to belong to the Western democracies. The reason for setting up these criteria was that data is either not available or not reliable outside this group of countries. These criteria gave the following set of nations: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and United States.

STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

The predictions were that the measures would intercorrelate and that factor analysis would show the existence of a common factor. The intercorrelations are shown in Table I. The correlation matrix was factor analysed by the principal component method. Four factors with latent roots above unity were extracted. The loadings on the factors are shown in Table II. The first factor appears to be anxiety. Seven of the variables are well loaded on the factor. Ulcer deaths have a low loading but in the predicted direction. Hypertension, murder and celibacy are evidently not related to the anxiety factor. No interpretation is offered of the other factors.

[11] There is evidence that stress induces a rise in blood pressure (S. Wolf *et al*, "Hypertension as a Reaction to Stress," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 1948, 29, 1056-1076). However, there is no strong evidence for an association between anxiety and hypertension (N. F. McGinn *et al*, "Psychological Correlates of Blood Pressure," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1964, 61, 209-219).

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TABLE I

The correlation matrix

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Mental illness	Low	(1.0)	72	57	58	50	49	46	00	06	–29	21
2. Coronary deaths	Low		(1.0)	64	61	30	49	47	–10	00	02	–07
3. Vehicle deaths	High			(1.0)	79	44	14	20	51	08	31	–02
4. Calorie intake	Low				(1.0)	26	17	26	30	20	05	–03
5. Suicides	High					(1.0)	37	18	34	14	–15	19
6. Alcoholism deaths	High						(1.0)	21	–20	19	01	12
7. Cigarette consumption	Low							(1.0)	–26	–54	22	15
8. Ulcer deaths	High								(1.0)	02	13	–23
9. Murders	High									(1.0)	–36	12
10. Celibacy	High										(1.0)	08
11. Hypertension	Low											(1.0)

TABLE II

Variables		*Unrotated factor loadings*			
		I	II	III	IV
Mental illness	Low	87	–12	28	06
Coronary deaths	Low	84	–20	02	32
Vehicle deaths	High	82	32	–38	–07
Calorie intake	Low	79	26	–17	15
Suicides	High	60	22	18	–39
Alcoholism deaths	High	52	–24	43	–03
Cigarette consumption	Low	49	–72	–23	00
Ulcer deaths	High	19	72	–48	–18
Murders	High	07	59	63	–04
Celibacy	High	03	–23	–71	–37
Hypertension deaths	Low	11	–27	33	–80
Eigen values		3.69	1.86	1.76	1.10
Variance (%)		33.5	16.9	16.0	10.1

The loadings of the first seven variables on the first factor indicates that they are all partly determined by a single underlying cause. For the reasons given above, this can be interpreted as the anxiety level of the population. It should perhaps be pointed out that the anxiety level is not likely to be the only factor affecting the prevalence and incidence of these variables. For instance, suicide rates are probably determined also by the strength of Roman Catholicism and no doubt by other influences as well; and similarly with the other variables. To make this clear, an analogy can be drawn with the structure of intelligence. The positive intercorrelation of all kinds of intelligence tests indicates that there is a common underlying factor, namely general intelligence (Spearman's g). But any individual test result is also influenced by other factors, such as the amount of teaching of a particular subject, luck, practice, physical well-being at the time the test is taken, and so on. Similarly, the epidemiological variables used in the present analysis will be affected by extraneous factors — the alcohol intake may be influenced by the severity of the taxation on alcohol, the vehicle deaths by speed limits on the roads, the calorie intake by the excellence or otherwise of the cuisine, and so forth.

It is now possible to assess the anxiety level of each country by calculating its factor score. This was calculated by ranking the observations of the countries on each of the first seven variables, multiplying the ranks by the factor loadings and summing each country's " score " and finally re-ranking on the basis of these total scores. This gives a rank order of anxiety level which is shown in Table III.

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TABLE III

Rank order of nations on anxiety level

High	*Moderate*	*Low*
1. Japan	7. Netherlands	13. Australia
2. Germany	8. Norway	14. Canada
3. Austria	9. Finland	15. U.S.A.
4. Italy	10. Denmark	16. New Zealand
5. France	11. Switzerland	17. United Kingdom
6. Belgium	12. Sweden	18. Ireland

RACIAL DETERMINANTS OF NATIONAL ANXIETY LEVELS

An examination of the anxiety levels in the different countries shows that there is a tendency for anxiety to be high in those countries whose racial composition is predominantly Alpine and Mediterranean — for example in Austria, Italy, France and Germany. In contrast, where the population is predominantly Nordic the anxiety level tends to be low — such as in Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the U.S.A. In the intermediate group of countries some are predominantly Nordic (The Netherlands, Finland, Sweden and Norway), while the others have substantial Mediterranean or Alpine strains in their population.

This analysis is based on Ripley's simple classification of the Caucasians into Mediterranean, Alpine and Nordic. If the more complex classification of Coon is adopted, we should propound that the Nordics and Brünns are low anxiety races, while the Alpines, Dinarics, Borrebys and Norics have a high level of anxiety. On these assumptions the anxiety levels in the countries can be satisfactorily explained in virtually all cases. The racial composition of the countries in relation to the anxiety level is shown in Table IV. The neatness with which the nations fall into place goes some way to establishing a *prima facie* case that racial factors are important in the determination of national anxiety levels.

EXPERIMENTAL EVIDENCE ON RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ANXIETY

The hypothesis that Nordics may be less anxious than Alpines and Mediterraneans (to revert to Ripley's simpler classification) receives some corroboration from experimental studies. For instance, Zborowsky made a survey in New York hospitals of the

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TABLE IV

Anxiety factor rankings in relation to racial composition (Based on Coon's classification)

Anxiety rank	*Predominant races*
Japan	Mongoloid
Germany	Alpine, Borreby, Dinaric, Noric
Austria	Noric, Dinaric
Italy	Alpine, Dinaric, Mediterranean
France	Alpine, Atlanto-Mediterranean
Belgium	Alpine, Borreby, Nordic
Netherlands	Nordic, Borreby, Brünn
Norway	Nordic, Borreby, Brünn
Finland	Nordic, East Baltic, Neo-Danubian
Denmark	Nordic, Borreby
Switzerland	Alpine, Dinaric, Nordic
Sweden	Nordic, Borreby, Brünn
Australia	Nordic
Canada	Nordic, Alpine
U.S.A.	Nordic, numerous minorities
New Zealand	Nordic
United Kingdom	Nordic
Ireland	Nordic, Brünn

attitudes to pain of Italians, Jews, Irish, and Old Americans (those of British descent).[12] He first investigated doctors' opinions and concluded from these that "Italians and Jews were described as tending to exaggerate their pain, while the Irish were often depicted as stoical individuals who are able to take a great deal of pain." Reactivity to pain is one of the best established indices of anxiety. Hence, since Jews are predominantly Mediterranean, these observations give some support to the existence of a Nordic/Brünn - Mediterranean difference in anxiety. In this study some of the doctors stated that in their view Jews and Italians have a lower threshold for pain than other ethnic groups, especially "members of the so-called Nordic race." Zborowski then carried out his own investigation of reactions to pain among some of these groups and concluded that Old Americans have a "phlegmatic" reaction to pain, whereas Italians are quick to "express a desire for pain relief."

This investigation is somewhat impressionistic. But a rigorous study has been published by Sternbach and Tursky, who compared

[12] M. Zborowski, "Cultural Components in Responses to Pain," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1952, 8, 16-30.

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Irish, Yankee (Old American of British descent), Italian and Jewish women on pain thresholds and psychogalvanic reactions to pain stimulation.[13] The experiment showed that the Irish and Yankees were less sensitive and less reactive to pain than the Italians and the Jews.

In a later study Tursky and Sternbach compared the same four groups on heart rate reactions in addition to psychogalvanic reactions to pain stimulation. Both the reactivity of heart rate and the psychogalvanic reactions are well known indices of anxiety. They obtained the same results as in the previous experiment. The Italians and Jews showed greater anxiety reactions than the Yankees and the Irish.

One point may be noted about these experiments. All subjects were living in the same region of the United States, and this controls some of the possible environmental determinants of anxiety, such as climate, and, to some degree, cultural environment. It is of course conceivable that there are sub-cultural factors in Italian and Jewish families in the United States which make them more anxious than Yankees and Irish. However, no one has succeeded in demonstrating the existence of these. In the absence of such a demonstration the racial hypothesis seems the strongest explanation.

JAPANESE - EUROPEAN DIFFERENCES

It will have been noted that Japan emerged from the epidemiological analysis as the most anxious of all the nations, and we now turn to the question of whether there is any experimental corroboration of this result. The only relevant investigation appears to be that of Lazarus, Tomita, Opton and Kodama.[14] Their experiment compared the psychogalvanic reactions of Japanese and American students while watching a film of young boys in a primitive tribe having their genitals mutilated during a puberty initiation ceremony. It comes as no surprise to learn that this unpleasant spectacle was well calculated to produce anxiety reactions, which were measured by the psychogalvanic reaction. The results showed that Japanese students had substantially higher reactions than Americans. The investigators also gave the students a questionnaire to test how much they had been

[13] R. A. Sternbach and B. Tursky, "Ethnic Differences Among Housewives in Psychological and Skin Potential Responses to Electric Shock," *Psychophysiology*, 1965, 1, 241-246; B. Tursky and R. A. Sternbach, "Further Physiological Correlates of Ethnic Differences in Response to Shock," *Psychophysiology*, 1967, 4, 67-74.

[14] R. S. Lazarus *et al*, "A Cross-cultural Study of Stress Reaction Patterns in Japan," *Journal of Personal Social Psychology*, 1966, 4, 622-633.

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emotionally disturbed by the film. This showed that the Japanese were more emotionally disturbed than the Americans. Thus, this experiment indicates a higher level of anxiety among the Japanese than among Europeans and is consistent with the results of our epidemiological study.

When racial differences in various characteristics are found it is usually possible to discern that a given characteristic has some adaptive advantage for the environment in which the race has lived, such as the benefit of a dark skin against the sun in the tropics. However, in this case I am not able to see what adaptive advantage there would be for Nordics and Brünns in having a comparatively low anxiety level.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Richard Lynn graduated in Psychology at Cambridge and is now Research Professor in Psychology at The Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin. His main interest is in personality, on which he has written a number of articles and two books. The present article is based on his forthcoming book *Personality and National Character* to be published by Pergamon Press in the summer of 1971.

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Racial Differences in the Range of Brain Capacity

By NATHANIEL WEYL

Various studies have shown consistent, but rather low, positive correlations between brain capacity and intelligence.[1] That such a relationship exists should surprise no one. Throughout the animal world there is a positive association between the mental ability of a species and its brain-weight-to-body-weight ratio. We find a similar progression in the various anthropoid apes, pre-hominids, hominids and *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* types to Cro-Magnon man.[2] Brain growth parallels mental growth in the human child and by the time mental growth ceases brain growth has also ceased. There is evidence that microcephalic individuals—say those with brains of less than 900 c.c.—may be incapable of rational thought. Most primitive, vestigial races which have failed to make the transition from pre-literate to literate societies have very small brains. Thus, three studies made in the 1930s showed that adult male Bushmen have brains in the 930 c.c. to 1170 c.c. range.[3]

If these *prima facie* reasons exist for assuming a correlation between brain-size and intelligence, there are also good reasons for anticipating that the observed correlations would be low, as

[1] Eleven of these studies are reported by Leona E. Tyler, *The Psychology of Human Differences*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1956, p. 422, and two others by Nathaniel Weyl and Stefan T. Possony, *The Geography of Intellect*, Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1963, pp. 57-58.

[2] Figures taken from E. Adamson Hoebel, *Man in the Primitive World*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1958, show brain capacity in cubic centimeters rising from 450-700 for *Australopithecus*, to 1000 for *Pithecanthropus*, to 1325 for pre-Mousterian Neanderthals. Cro-Magnon man had a brain with about 1650 c.c. capacity.

Crossing the boundary lines not merely of species, but of orders, John C. Lilly has argued (*Man and Dolphin*, Doubleday, New York, 1961) that the dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*) has a larger brain than man and more cells, folds, fissures, sulci and gyri in his cortex than man has. Dr Lilly advances the bold theory that *Tursiops* may possess parahuman intelligence, may have a language of his own and may be capable of learning human speech. A more pedestrian appraisal of *Tursiops*, whose intellectual powers are unquestionably very large within the animal range, will be found in Anthony Alpers, *Dolphins, Myth and Mammal*.

[3] R. Ruggles Gates, *Human Ancestry from a Genetical Point of View*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948, p. 160. The figures are taken from studies by Wells (1937) and Slome (1932) and are arithmetic means. Hence, the actual range must be considerably larger. I have converted Gates' figures for brain weight to volume by using 1.037 for brain density.

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in fact they are. First, in considering the intelligence-to-brain-size relationship, adjustment should be made for the size of the individual. Ten to 12 per cent of the brain weight of modern man will vary directly with body size, whereas the other part of the brain will vary only slightly or not at all with body size.[4] Second, there is a slight positive correlation between brain size and the degree of brachycephalization.

In the third place and more fundamental is the fact that we are not primarily interested in the total weight or capacity of the brain, even after these adjustments have been made. What we would like ideally to have is the area of the flattened-out cerebral cortex. This, unfortunately, is unobtainable. In accepting total brain weight as a substitute, we are ignoring two major modifying factors. The first is the degree of fissurization of the brain.[5] The second is the ratio of the weight of the cerebral cortex to total brain weight.

Thus, in the case of the racially pure Negro, aggregate brain capacity probably averages about 10 per cent to 12 per cent less than among Caucasoids.[6] In addition, sulcification appears to be less marked: at least Gordon and Vint both found the convolutional patterns of the African brains they examined to be less complex than those of typical European brains.[7] Finally, Connolly found the frontal and occipital portions of the Negro brain to be proportionately smaller, and the parietal portion to be proportionately larger, than in white brains.[8] In the case of Australoids, Shellshear found "clear evidence of a lack of development of the precuneal, parietal, temporal and frontal regions, as shown by the general pattern of the sulci . . ."[9]

[4] H. J. Jerison, "Brain to Body Ratios and the Evolution of Intelligence," *Science*, Vol. CXX, No. 3144, 1955, pp. 447-449.

[5] The case of Anatole France, whose brain weighed only 1017 grams at death as against a normal weight of 1360 grams for a man of his height is generally advanced by those who deny that any significant association between intelligence and brain weight exists. However, long and tortuous convolutions and unusually complex foldings were found which would have made the area of his flattened-out brain much larger than one would have supposed on the basis of mere weight. L. Guillon *et al, Bulletin Académie Médecine,* Vol. XCI, 1927, pp. 328-336.

[6] There are exceptions. Thus, O. H. Klineberg, *Race Differences,* New York, 1935, reported average brain weights of 1460 c.c. for the Kaffirs, a tall Negro people inhabiting a temperate upland area.

[7] H. L. Gordon, "Amentia in the East African," *Eugenics Review*, Vol. 25, January 1934, pp. 225-231; and F. W. Vint, "The Brain of the Kenya Native." *Journal of Anatomy,* Vol. LXVIII, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 216-222.

[8] Cornelius J. Connolly, *External Morphology of the Primate Brain,* C. C. Thomas, Springfield, 1950, p. 146.

[9] J. L. Shellshear, "The Brain of the Aboriginal Australian. A Study in Cerebral Morphology," *Phil. Trans. Royal Society*, London, Series B, 227:293-409.

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The final qualification to be made concerning the association between brain size and intelligence is that possession of an extraordinarily large brain may cause birth trauma or subsequent damage.

As for injuries at birth, Lightwood and MacGregor in a standard British medical text estimate that intracranial injury is responsible for about 24 per cent of stillbirths and 28 per cent of neonatal deaths. Cases of slight subdural or subarachnoid bleeding can be saved, but "a cautious prognosis must be given for those infants who survive" for "mental retardation or other neurological sequels may occur . . ."[10]

Other things being equal, the larger the brain the greater the danger of birth trauma. It is not at all impossible that some of the cases on record of mentally defective individuals with giant brains may represent unfortunates whose exceptional genetic endowment in terms of intelligence was crippled by the act of being born.

A pint of blood must circulate through the normal adult brain every 60 seconds, carrying oxygen and glucose. The average healthy adult brain of modern man consumes 25 per cent of total oxygen intake as against only about half that proportion in the case of anthropoid apes. An exceptionally large and powerful brain will make more than average demands on the organism for blood, oxygen and sugar. As long ago as 1917, Havelock Ellis suggested that a large brain may be "a perilous possession."[11]

Toward the end of the last century, fantastically large brains were reported, often on the basis of inadequate evidence and measuring techniques of dubious competence. David Wechsler, designer of the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale, urged almost 25 years ago that many of these claims should be dismissed as unprovable and asserted that the largest authenticated brain on record was that of the great Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenev (2015 grams). Oliver Cromwell's brain allegedly weighed 2231 grams and Lord Byron's 2200 grams, but these figures have been rejected by Spitzka.[12] "It is to be noted that 'heavy' brains have generally been those of men of genius . . ." Wechsler concluded.[13]

The apparent fact that very large brains are most commonly found among men of genius (though they are also sometimes

[10] Geoffrey Evans (editor), *Medical Treatment, Principles and Their Application*, Butterworth, London, 1951, pp. 434-435.

[11] Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Scribner's, New York, 1917, p. 128.

[12] Havelock Ellis, *op cit.*, p. 128, states that the largest brain recorded was described in Holland in 1899 (G. C. van Walsem, *Neurolog. Centralbl.*, July 1, 1899) weighed 2850 grams and belonged to "an epileptoid idiot."

[13] David Wechsler, *The Measurement of Adult Intelligence*, Williams and Wilkins, Baltimore, 1941, p. 89.

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encountered among apparently average, or, for that matter, mentally defective, people) suggests that an examination of the *range* of brain capacity may be more significant than an examination of *average* brain sizes. If there is a strong correlation between the production of very large brains and the production of genius, then the strength of intellectual élites will be indicated by high proportions of macrocephalic individuals in a population.

With this thought in mind, I made a cursory examination of the brain size tables in Karl Saller's great source book on anthropology.[14] Dr Saller reproduces the ranges and arithmetic means of 32 series on adult male brain capacity, as measured by the shot method. Of these, 15 are European, five African, five Asian, six Oceanian and one American. A later table gives 21 other series, measured by the grain and water method, which generally yields about 80 c.c. less than the shot method. Of these, nine are European, six Oceanian, four Asian and two American.

When the shot series are arranged in rank order according to the largest individual brains in each, we get the picture shown in Table I.

The table reveals interesting differences. We find that Europeans are in the first nine places and that the lowest European group ranks 20th out of 32 groups. The four series with individual brains of 1900 c.c. and over and the four series with brains above 1800 c.c. are all European. The spread between the largest European brain (1990 c.c.) and the largest non-European brain (1799 c.c.) is almost 200 c.c. The series with individual brains in the 1700 to 1800 c.c. range are, in three instances, primarily Caucasoid (Polynesians and Egyptians of the fourth and tenth Dynasties); Caucasoid or Australoid in one instance (Ainu); and Mongoloid in one case (Javanese). The lowest ranking groups are Australoids, Negroids and Polynesians (Tasmania, Australia, Nubians and Moriori Islanders).

On the whole, the European series have larger ranges. The unweighted average range of the 15 European groups is 555 c.c., that of the 17 non-European groups is 376 c.c.[15]

The differences between the arithmetic means are much less marked than those between the largest individual brains. Of the ten groups with the largest average brains, eight are European. The list is: Auvergnois, 1609 c.c.; Merovingians, 1596 c.c.; Javanese, 1590 c.c.; Spanish Basques, 1584 c.c.; Lower Brittany, 1564 c.c.; Parisians, 1559 c.c.; Valais Swiss, 1546 c.c.; French Basques 1544 c.c.; Savoyards 1538 c.c.; and Eskimos, 1535 c.c.

[14] Karl Saller, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie in systematischer Darstellung*, Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, Volume II, 1959, pp. 1210-1211.

[15] The ranges are 471 c.c. for the Asians, 385 c.c. for the Africans (including two Dynastic Egyptian groups), 351 c.c. for the Oceanians and 206 c.c. for the Eskimos.

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TABLE 1

Brain capacities by shot method (in c.c.)

Origin	*Largest brain*	*Average brain*	*Source*
1. Tyrol	1990	1508	Tappeiner
2. Spanish Basques*	1932	1584	Pittard
3. French Basques*	1932	1544	Pittard
4. Swiss (Valais)	1930	1546	Broca
5. Parisians	1900	1559	Broca
6. Auvergnois	1894	1609	Broca
7. Lower Brittany	1887	1564	Broca
8. Scots	1855	1478	Broca
9. French (Cave of Baye)	1854	1534	Broca
10. Javanese	1799	1590	Broca
11. Gauls	1775	1529	Broca
12. Parisians (12th century)	1775	1531	Broca
13. Polynesians	1742	1500	Broca
14. Merovingians	1727	1596	Broca
15. Maori	1725	1476	Scott
16. Savoyards	1712	1538	Broca
17. Ainu	1705	1462	Kogänei
18. Egyptians (4th Dynasty)*	1700	1532	Broca
19. Egyptians (10th Dynasty)*	1700	1443	Broca
20. Dutch	1680	1530	Broca
21. Chinese	1674	1518	Broca
22. Alsatians	1635	1501	Broca
23. New Caledonians	1632	1460	Broca
24. Japanese	1630	1485	Adachi
25. Arabs	1628	1474	Broca
26. Negroes	1627	1462	Broca
27. Eskimos	1624	1535	Broca
28. Hottentots and Bushmen	1620	1317	Broca
29. Tasmanians	1518	1406	Broca
30. Australian Aborigines	1507	1347	Broca
31. Nubians	1429	1329	Broca
32. Moriori	1416	1455	Scott

*Same range, but different arithmetic means.

The advantage of the European groups in respect to macrocephalic individuals is less visible in the nine European and 12 non-European groups measured by the grain and water method for which ranges are shown. The 11 ranking groups (with maxima in c.c.) are: Tyrol, 2020; Czechs, 1800; Maori, 1795; Upper Bavaria, 1780; Eskimo, 1775; Swiss, 1760; Loyalty Islanders, 1755; "Telengets," 1740; Saxons and Tahitians tied at 1720. Of

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these leading groups, six are European and five non-European. Of the non-European series, the Maori, Tahitians and Loyalty Islanders are, of course, Polynesians. The other two are northern Mongoloids if one can safely assume that the German word *Telengets* refers to the Teleuts, a branch of the Altai Tartars inhabiting the Kuznetz district of Siberia.

Obviously firm conclusions concerning the extent of difference in the proportion of macrocephalic individuals among different races and peoples cannot be drawn from this brief and impressionistic presentation. A large number of series on brain capacity should be compared in terms of range, deciles, standard deviations and size and reliability of samples. The data presented here merely suggests that large and significant differences may well exist. If so, their extent should be determined and their causes investigated.

IMPORTANT REPRINT

Practical Considerations which are Fundamental in Bantu Affairs in Rhodesia and for an Understanding of Negroid-Caucasoid Problems Generally

by R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

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The "Collective" Soul: Part III

By RICHARD SWARTZBAUGH

CULTURE IN SPACE (continued)

Individual space is that space each person considers his own. It is movable and follows him around — like his shadow or the shell of a snail. He is never "outside" it. Whoever enters this space from outside must enter on the owner's terms, or else the space is annihilated. The barbarians differ from inner spacemen with respect to individual space in that they lack a defined collective space and emphasize in its place movable individual space. Outer spacemen dislike crowding. For instance, Hall[1] said that the European or American, in face-to-face relations with foreigners, often feels that his space is violated. The foreigner feels uncomfortable communicating with him from a distance and will crowd him. The latter tends to back away in repugnance. Also, the Europeans and Americans dislike packing their houses together when there is room to spread out. The Germans of Tacitus' time[2] lived in widely scattered houses.* Even many Europeans of today have in common with Americans the fact that they find suburban houses preferable to houses in the center of the city. Amongst savages, closely packed community life is most desirable. In civilizations, the wealthier citizens reflect the public ideal by living close to the center of the town.

Collective space is space defended by an alliance of individuals, or a group. The group is a defensive alliance by definition, since the outer spaceman, the traditional aggressor, does not have the collective space. Even when a savage or civilized group takes the offensive in a territorial war, a chief objective in this war usually is a buffer area against outside groups, not an addition to its own inner space. The inner spaceman wants security above all.

Collective space is potentially movable. However, movement of territory, or migration, always reflects, for the inner spaceman, a deviation from the ideal: he wants to stay where he is. The outer spaceman on the other hand, restlessly moves out over territorial boundaries, both those he has temporarily erected around himself or those put up by other peoples. This is not to

[1] Edward Hall, *The Silent Language,* Fawcett, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1959, pp. 146-164.

[2] K. F. Reinhardt, *Germany: 2000 Years,* Ungar, New York, 1966, p. 8.

* The Germanic peoples lived in agglomerated settlements, as distinct from the Slavonic *strassendorf* (street village) and the Celtic scattered isolated settlements.—EDITOR.

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say the inner spaceman never moves his space, but he always moves from one fortified inner space to another. When he moves he does so along the line of least resistance, as though his weight in moving were a burden to him. He challenges personal hunger but not, so to speak, gravity. He will remain in a place as long as he has sustenance and security there. When he moves he obeys every natural force so long as he obtains his livelihood. The man moving over space, the true barbarian or outer spaceman, is a predator who distinguishes himself from the inner spaceman in that he is as likely to move away from security as to it. He thinks walls and barriers are hostile to him, while the wandering inner spaceman takes them for granted and prefers them. Only when the latter is starving and the walls hold him in does the inner spaceman resent the walls. The barbarian goes over or through walls, abolishing them, while the inner spaceman goes in and out the gates. To battle against barriers means to fight gravity and all restricting forces, as well as inertia. The inner spaceman, on the other hand, does not cherish an "unnecessary" fight.

The Australian Aborigines make objective their inner spacial sensitivity in their religion. The spirits of dead ancestors and animal spirits live in trees and rocks within the group's territory or "homeland". The home territory is inhabited only by benevolent animal and human spirits whom the living men call upon through rituals and prayers. During initiation rites, the young man is given a magical board called a *churinga* which, when rubbed, brings the friendly spirits to do his will. The granting of the *churinga* to the initiate is an emotional experience since it provides a means whereby the young man can become related directly to the inner or mystical side of the tribal land, thus identifying him totally with the land. His identity is derived from the spirits of the dead and he can no longer think of himself apart from the land. Since the tribal land is the living space of the dead spirits, he feels himself rooted and fixed there forever. If he is for some reason forced to leave his homeland, he is bitter and miserable, disoriented in his spiritual life as well as in space; he is able to reorient himself in his new land only in so far as he creates new spirit ancestors to populate this country. His "baggage," so to speak, or that which makes him comfortable and at home, are the images of his gods and spirits.

On the other hand, just as all goodness comes from within the tribal lands, all evil comes from outside them. Outside the homeland, which is defined by recognized streams, trees, and rocks, there are only vicious, hostile, and terrible beings such as giant snakes and insects, evil demons and spirits, and dangerous and monstrous men, say, with two heads and tails. All evil that comes

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to the group — sickness, hunger, and unfaithfulness among the women — is inflicted from outside the territory. Evil is projected from the surrounding land through what is envisioned as a poisonous ray. The primary device for combating evil is a " pointing bone ", a long bone (preferably a human femur) shaved to a point at one end and directed towards the supposed source of evil in outer space, the territory of neighboring tribes; and a spell is cast on the bone to make it project magical rays back into the neighboring lands to destroy the evil there.

As is the case among most territorial animals and men, the Australians feel uncomfortable away from the center of their homeland. They must wander about their territory to scavenge for food, but as they move towards the outlying boundary areas they become quiet, alert, and nervous, walking in a disciplined single file with their spears ready. The symptoms they display in approaching the edge of their territory do not differ radically from those shown by infra-human primates, which are comfortable only in the center of their territories, and in advancing towards boundaries become silent, tense, and more prone to submit to the leadership of a dominant animal. The Australians exhibit in this respect practically universal behavior *vis-à-vis* space occupation.

Civilization is the fulfilment of the inner spaceman's ideal of security of spatial position. The effort of the savage to secure his territory is essentially an impulse to rise in civilization, since, as I will show, heavy, megalithic civilized forms serve as a psychological " anchor " that prevents a people from drifting in space. But the savage, living in small, defenseless or nearly defenseless bands and possessing little property, is always in danger of being displaced from his land. Even in the course of normal dispute between bands of equal strength, territory tends to shift over the years. Also a small dearth of food may force the group to emigrate. Whereas in civilizations a famine usually reduces only the lower classes to hunger, a food shortage among savages will force the entire group to pour out over the boundaries of its beloved homeland and into feared lands of outer space. The band's weak economic and social basis thus contributes to insecurity of space. It is only in civilization, where territory is marked by unmovable stone structures in the center of the territory, and where a peasantry is present to support builders and soldiers, that men can relax, at least temporarily, from direct territorial conflict. Therefore, since the savage is insecure in his inner space, he will tend to approximate to the conditions of civilization by banding together with other savage groups, in so far as ecological conditions allow, in order to gain the roots that only a concentrated population can achieve. Even family bands of Australians have a " main " camp site near the center of their

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tribal territory at which the bands assemble periodically after wandering far and wide. The social structure of the group assembled at this camp site is relatively sophisticated and its ceremonial and religious life is elaborate. This relatively complex grouping at a " center " which, in contrast to the temporary camp sites remains a favored spot, is already a real, albeit small, step toward civilization.

Just as the preoccupation with the dangers of space is inappropriate to, or unwanted by, the security-oriented inner spaceman, the concern for time is tedious to him in that it serves merely the interests of stable space occupation. For the savage time has meaning only in so far as it counterbalances insecurity in space. The time of a group's residence roots it in its territory. A savage " history " consists of a chronology of ancestors in their relation to the tribal lands. This chronology cannot be cherished and remembered by the people if it is not associated with the land in which they are presently living, so that, when they are forced to emigrate they either invent a new set of ancestors in order to justify their presence in a new land; or, where their adopted home already has a history, they cease altogether to cultivate tribal lore. On a visit to Canada recently, I began asking an Ojibwa Indian about his tribal past, whereupon he looked in some drawers and produced literature published by the Canadian Government. He had no personal interest in his people's past, and thought of himself as " Indian " only because other people thought of him as such. Among the Trobriand Islanders, whose culture is still intact, the ancestors of living men are said to have sprung out of the present tribal lands. The Trobrianders believe their original tribal forbears were born out of holes in the ground, back into which, moreover, the spirits of the dead eventually disappear as men die. Each territorial group knows the spot where its original ancestor sprang up. If the group is forced to change its territory because of famine or displacement by an outside group, the band must find a new " hole."[3] Not only in the Trobriand Islands but also in the religions of Australia and much of Africa, the location of the ancestral spirits in the tribal land forms the basis of native belief.

It therefore follows, as I suggested above, that chronologies and therefore all sense of tribal time becomes meaningless when a group loses its conscious concern with space. Only when a group desires security of space, but does not possess it, is the group *conscious* of itself as a people with a past. In so far as the group comes to identify itself with stone structures such as characterize civilization, it can dispense with the merely abstract

[3] Bronislaw Malinowlski, *Magic, Science and Religion,* Doubleday, New York, 1948, p. 111 ff.

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"anchor" of chronologies. This identification with megaliths means therefore an obliteration of tribal and cultural heritage. A people can identify itself *qua* people only through a common past, invented or real, but this past becomes irrelevant when individuals can attach themselves to stone anchors. This is not to say that a consideration of time *per se* is entirely lost, though it is a matter for the abstract interest of scholars rather than a living history in which every man participates personally. The distinction between savage and civilized history is that between peoples and places. Savage history is of a group of living men, the history of a civilization concerns only a place or territory. Consequently, a history of, say, Rome would entail a consideration of distinct peoples only at the time the city was founded. In becoming a center of civilization, Rome attracted to it and absorbed countless peoples whose racial or ethnic identities were lost. "Rome" refers to a location, a spot of ground for which scholars write histories. It is doubtful whether one would now undertake a history of the Italic people, which is thought to have founded Rome but has long since disappeared as a force or population apart from its mark in the ancient stone buildings that now comprise the "Eternal City." Civilised life focuses itself in specific points in space. Consider, on the other hand, how difficult an account of Viking culture would be in these terms. Barbarians affirm their history, whereas savages cling to it because it asserts their right to specific space. Population histories are lost with the peoples themselves, as the Italics became Romans, the Hellenes became Athenians, and the Mongols became Chinese. Some groups which are not readily absorbed into city populations, such as the Jews, are forced to postpone their ideal: the Jews carry with them in their collective mind the "City of Gold," their megalithic destiny. But life in outer space is a burden to the inner spaceman, who searches for rest at a great stone: the sacred Kaaba stone of Mecca; the pyramids of Egypt and Central America; or whole cities like Babylonia and Constantinople; and all the holy places and cities that have symbolised the dreams of the inner spaceman the world over. The ethnic and racial identity of the individual is absorbed into the stones of his temples and cities.

Civilization means security of spatial position. While territorial boundaries are still subject to some change, whole territories do not drift because they surround secure "core areas," or cities. As long as the city exists as an area capable of housing and protecting citizens, the boundaries of the land surrounding this point will not drift substantially. Therefore, the process wherein savagery is transformed into civilization can be described as a progressive stabilization of territorial centers. The larger the

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center becomes, the less inclined its citizens are to move it elsewhere, and the more impervious it becomes to threats by outside invaders.

We may trace the development of civilization as follows. The first territories, probably already at the proto-human level of evolution, were hunting lands. The men ranged out from camp each day in search of large game, while the women, burdened as they were with children, picked berries and roots near the camp site. The woman was a stationary center around which the men revolved, not venturing more than two or three days' travel away. When the hunting was exhausted in one area, the family group would be led by the male hunter to a new ground within the territory. As is the case among present-day Australians, two or three families probably inhabited the same general territory, defending it from outsiders.

In relatively barren country, grasslands and steppes, the hunting activity of the men provided the most important share of the food. Large ungulates which grazed on the luxuriant grass of the plains could be hunted by men in the heat of the midday, when the persistent, dogged pursuit exhausted the bulky animals. Given a large expanse of hunting land and a stable population, a small family could be assured of a regular food supply. The scant plant life suitable for human consumption rendered the foraging of women relatively unprofitable. However, in more fertile lands the gathering was more rewarding, and the women found that by scattering seeds of collected plants on the ground, a rich harvest could be reaped in the next growing season. Improved gathering resulted in an increase of population, which the hunters found harder to provide with meat, since territorial expansion into new hunting grounds would require not only that hunters roam further from camp but also that they enter into serious hostilities with neighbouring hunting groups.

The increased productivity of women in fertile growing areas probably brought with it an increase in the status of women, inheritance of property through the female line, and a worship of female deities which encouraged plant fertility. The female ethos has extended to the present day among civilized peoples and among savages aspiring to civilization. We should not underestimate the dominance of feminine values, for example of productivity and morality, in all civilization, as opposed to the spatially mobile, masculine, and destructive (as well as creative) ethos of the high barbarism of the space machines.

Now the hunters of the growing population probably ranged many days away from camp, increasingly in larger and better armed groups in order to defend themselves from the peoples on whose land they were intruding. The absence of men necessitated

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that women be increasingly independent not only biologically, in caring for the children, but also culturally in the formulation of social institutions. The woman became the stable influence upon which depended the development of culture on a given space of ground, the building of houses, the making of pottery, and so forth. A stationary culture, accumulated slowly by the patient work of women, was permitted in the fact that food production spared the family the need to migrate when hunting was poor. Not only was material culture fostered by women but also social institutions were developed by them. Among the modern Nuer, an African group in the transition from savagery to civilization, the prolonged absence of men has led to the institution wherein two women may marry. One woman is barren and takes the rôle of "husband," the other has children by men at random, though the children have a legal status and are cared for by the mother and her marriage partner. The children belong to the clan of their mother. Nuer women own huts and gardens, the men own barns and cattle, emphasizing the fact of female permanence and male mobility. But almost the entire village culture, and in fact most of the Nuer culture altogether, for example, the marriage arrangements, house style, music and dance, morality, and so forth, are the product of the women. In this respect the Nuer women resemble the prototypes of civilized culture which arose in the Nile and Euphrates valleys about B.C. 5000.

The increasing status of women and the jealousy it aroused among the men, the necessity of longer and more dangerous hunting trips into unknown lands, the belief that farming was easier and more productive than hunting, and possibly the feeling among the men that they were not participating in culture, led the men gradually to abandon hunting in favour of agriculture. We may speak here of the "emasculation" of the hunter in so far as he came out of necessity to do work traditionally ascribed to women. As Bachofen has pointed out,[4] the male was biologically dominant over the female, and therefore when he came home to stay he usurped the rôle of the woman. He took over what she had created, but in doing so he himself became a "female" in his outlook. His culture was a "feminine" one.

Upon becoming an agriculturist, and doing work invented by the women, the male became a female not only culturally but even psychologically and physiologically. The discharge of physical energy of the peasant resembles the energy output of women consistent with caring for children. Women who, in early times as well as the present, expended energy in small, even quantities throughout the entire day, were better suited than the men to pry

[4] J. J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion and Mother Right* (Mannheim translation), Bollingen Foundation, Princeton, 1967.

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up stones with digging sticks in search of roots, to pick berries and search for edible insects. The man, on the other hand, is suited for rapid expenditures of energy followed by long periods of rest. This is consistent with the pursuit of animals and the subduing of them in fierce battle, as well as with territorial conflict. Farming, which demands a patient turning of soil and collecting of the ripened harvest, is consistent with the female physiology. The male, in taking up agriculture, had to force himself to subdue the natural, primordial rhythm of masculine energy in favor of the more even, less dramatic, and feminine flow of energy consistent with farming. This changeover may also have been accompanied by physical changes. The light-boned Mediterranean peasant type may have arisen in this period. It is also significant to note that office work and automobile traffic in modern culture impose a selective advantage on the lighter, more "feminine" physical and physiological types, which are less prone to diseases brought about by the lack of strenuous, sporadic physical exertion. Also, the work of civilization, as the work of the original agriculturalists, is in large part better accomplished by women, especially the everyday bureaucratic work. The selective factors operating in modern bureaucracies are therefore those which were set in motion at the outset of the earliest civilization. Regimentation, particularly with respect to spatial orientation, has a physiological as well as a cultural basis. This is why peasants have been transformed so readily into civilized workmen, whereas the barbarians, who tend to have a different physical make-up, suffer biological hardship when confined in a civilized system. As I will show later, this hardship has suddenly been imposed in the auto civilization in America, but this circumstance takes us rather far from the subject of this section, the "effeminization" of men as the basis of civilization.

The change from hunter to peasant entailed an alteration of territorial outlook. It is undoubtedly correct to say that the primordial man was unwillingly forced into territorial combat with his neighbors. Like infra-human primates and living human hunters, a venture away from the center of tribal lands was accompanied by fear and pain. When the man settled down on a small plot of land near his wife and hearth fire, it was probably with a sense of relief. On the other hand, his orientation toward outsiders was now primarily one of self-defense. As a hunter there had been small difference between aggression toward game animals and that toward his territorial neighbor. Fighting with spears was a natural part of everyday life. For the peasant, whose rhythm of life was now more regular and "feminine," warfare became clearly distinct from everyday life, in other words, war was "unnatural." For this reason it was the subject of terrible

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anxiety, which was increased by the fact that the neighbors who had not made the transition to farming were aggressively threatening to overrun and make off with the fruits of the peasant's culture. The peasant's territorial anxiety therefore did not diminish when he settled on the land, it may have even increased. The peasant valued stable, immovable cultural forms, and his ethos and world-view reflected his intense fear of displacement. This fear and the positive aspects of his religion, which valued the qualities of the plants which held his family to one spot, kept him rooted spiritually as well as physically in his lands. In this respect we may say of him that he is both "feminine" and "plantlike," although in his own set of beliefs he is fully a "man" — dominant, in relation to his women.

Ravages by "undomesticated" hunters led the peasant to band together with others of his own kind for purposes of defense. He was likely to make a defense pact with the men he traded with in the market place. The market became the geographic center of a group of farms which grew from this point outward to the extent that they could be protected by peasant recruits marching from the market town. The peasant, who was intensely apprehensive about being thrust out of his land by invaders, projected his apprehensions on the market town, which was the center of his hopes for permanence. Since in everyday life, as the peasant cleared his fields before ploughing, it could be seen that rock was a very heavy and unmovable material, stone buildings appealed to his imagination and became virtual symbols of spatial security. This stone building concentrated in the market town is the diagnostic characteristic of what we call "civilization." Civilization is the projection of territorial anxieties on stone building, to which spatially insecure peoples attach themselves as though it were an "anchor" which retards drifting into outer space.

As the women of the Nile and Euphrates valleys first domesticated plants and then their husbands, wild men were roaming the wide Eurasian steppes and grasslands. About B.C. 3000 these roving hunters domesticated the horse, which had long been a game animal. Thus, instead of retarding mobility in favor of a rooted existence, the steppe peoples accentuated an already uprooted, masculine, and predatory life. Outstripping in speed all game animals slower than the horse, the early barbarians turned their attention to human game and the booty of civilization.

These mobile peoples probably spoke the ancestral Indo-European language, which they imposed on conquered peoples wherever they penetrated. Other than the parent Indo-European speech, the most important cultural contribution of the mobile peoples was a complex system of warfare which centered around the chariot. Spengler says that three factors were important in the

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invention of this machine: the conception of speed (which may have been gained by watching the long-legged, swift animals of the grasslands); the domestication of horses to the end of achieving speed; and the training of warriors with hand weapons. In contrast to the chariot, the four-wheeled cart, which is slow and capable of carrying great weight, depends on a road and therefore on the organization of manpower to build roads, this manpower being such as only a civilization could supply. The cart's four wheels must all touch the ground at the same time, thus demanding a smooth or paved surface. On the other hand, the two-wheeled chariot presupposes a free, dry, even plain, and is useless in a swamp, woods, or in mountains. Given the proper geographic conditions and the inventiveness of a mobile and warlike people — and here the analogy of the higher intelligence of the swifter animals of prey might serve — a complex development arose, which included horses bred to pull fast two-wheeled vehicles; the carts themselves; third, a short compound bow, whereby arrows could be launched at compact groups of foot soldiers; finally, a quadrilateral earthwork fortification in which the barbarians could camp in enemy territory. Spengler says that, with the development of this system of warfare, " . . . speed as a weapon thereby entered the history of war, and likewise the thought that the weapon-handy professional fighters are a class, and indeed the most distinguished class of people."[5]

In the present discussion of the history of the peasant-based civilization and the space-oriented barbarians, it is evident that two types of human being have arisen, each approximating to one of the two basic categories of organism: rooted plant-like life, and mobile animal life of far-ranging predators. What is unique in man is not a uniquely human way of life, but the fact that man can imitate other living beings in accordance with the possibilities and requirements of the particular environment in which he finds himself. A man can therefore be a type of " plant " or " animal," nowadays even a bird or a fish. Culture consists of repeating and improving upon the habits of these beings. The essence of civilization and barbarism is rootedness and mobility respectively.

In opposition to the megalith, therefore, the prime symbol of barbarism is the wheel, which may take the particular forms of the vehicle wheel or the clock wheel. The wheel is a closed circle which dissolves its closed form in motion. The essence of a wheel is the line it lays down under it on the surface over which

[5] Otto Spengler, "Zur Weltgeschichte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends," *Reden und Aufsätze*, Verlag C. H. Beck, Munich, 1935, p. 180. " . . . das Tempo als Waffe tritt damit in die Kriegsgeschichte ein, und ebenso der Gedanke, dass der waffengübte Berufskrieger ein Stand, und zwar der wornehmste im volk ist."

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it passes. The turning of the clock wheel dissolves the circle in time, the turning cart wheel is dissolved as the wheel assumes new space, thus propelling the cart forward.

The barbarian's exaggerated distinction between time and space derives from his spatial mobility. In other words, he has forced himself over spatial limitations to such a degree and for such a time that these limitations no longer orient him. They do not direct him physically or spiritually.

The so-called "abstract" space of modern science is actually experienced space, although not experienced in the way of the inner spaceman. Outer space has no centers and no horizons, either in the physical or the spiritual sense.

THE IDEA OF SPACE AND SPACE MACHINES

For the Greeks the city was the container of all culture, and the individual Greek was at home only in his city. Socrates felt uncomfortable and spiritually uprooted away from his city: [6]

> Phaedrus: . . . when you are in the country, as you say, you really are like some stranger who is led about by a guide. Do you ever cross the border? I rather think that you never venture even outside the gates.
>
> Socrates: Very true, my good friend; and I hope that you will excuse me when you hear the reason, which is, that I am a lover of knowledge, and the men who dwell in the city are my teachers, and not the trees or the country.

The city was self-contained and sharply set off from the outside world. The center was the market place where the most important public and intellectual life took place. This was where Socrates could be found talking with his students. Plato says the town should not grow beyond the point where its outermost inhabitants could hear an orator speaking from the market place. The most beautiful buildings were there as well as the other artistic creations of culture. Life gained in intensity as it approached the town center. What was good was found there, whereas everything "barbarian" was outside it. That was why the Greeks were not enthusiastic travelers, if we except Herodotus, who, however, never roamed as far as the most average Viking or Crusader. There was ship trade and contact with the outside world, but voyages were for specific commercial purposes and not for a vital cultural purpose. Even the waterways did not open up space for the Greeks. The Greeks were a spatially settled people, in contrast to Medieval and modern Europe and America. Perhaps

[6] Plato, *Phaedrus*, Random House, New York, 1937, p. 236.

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the mountainous terrain of Greece contributed to this spatial isolation.

By the same token the *idea* of space was limited for the Greeks. Aristotle was the most important philosopher to treat the space problem specifically, but his solutions differ radically from ours. He regarded space not as something homogeneous or consistent, but rather differentiated. It was divided in sections, parts and types. For instance, Aristotle distinguished up and down, right and left, in front and behind, directions which were not relative to observers but objectively real. Directions were static spheres. "Upwards is not a random direction but the one where the flames and what is light is carried." Likewise down is the direction of what is heavy. The other directions are relative to the individual observer. Everything in space had its "natural position" and all space was occupied by something, whether it be water, earth, air, and so on. There was no Greek word for free or empty space.

Otto Bollnow[7] asserts that the German word "*Raum*," or "space," is best translated as "an unmovable vessel." Space for the Greeks was first of all something with its own natural divisions. But it was also a container of definite things. The "container" was divided into parts which had a definite extension. They "enclosed their objects," said Aristotle, who designated space more exactly as "the boundaries of an enclosed body," like a skin drawn around the body. Space is not a system of relations between things but an external circumscription or defined limit of the volume of the thing. It is an enclosure defined by a hollow in which distinctive things are located, so that it is of necessity of a certain size. As such the enclosure is necessarily finite. We can speak of space only in so far as material things are limited and contained. While individual places lie next to one another, "spaces" (plural) can enclose one another, with the larger around the smaller. There is a rank order toward the more comprehensive space, so there arises the question of the all-inclusive space, or the "universe."

The idea of the all-inclusive space can be translated as the idea of the universe. Because one space presupposes a more inclusive one, the "heaven" cannot be in space but rather the space is itself entirely enclosed by "heaven," which is spaceless. "Thus the heaven is no longer space, but rather only the heaven's innermost boundary, which is touched by moving bodies without itself moving." Space is necessarily a limited space, a sort of cave enclosed by the vault of heaven. Other than the notion of a vaulted enclosure bounded by heaven, the Greeks had no notion

[7] O. F. Bollnow, *Mensch und Raum*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1963, pp. 26-31.

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of space save for the phrase "that which is not there," an expression that underscores an insensitivity to space *per se*. For us, space is something real and vitally felt, distances being the fundamental challenge of our culture. The objective of Platonic philosophy, the contemplation of closed geometric forms, is opposed to our own open, three-dimensional outlook.

Modern Western man, in radical opposition to the ancient Greeks, leads a mobile and uprooted existence. Likewise his outlook is keenly atuned to the space problem. But the Eastern spaceman has not prevailed everywhere. The following is a sketch of the fate of outer spatial barbarism in different parts of the world.

Eastern barbarism.—The Great Wall of China prevented petty and short-lived raids on the Chinese inlands, but it caused a pressure of barbarism to build up outside it. The barbarians periodically overwhelmed the Wall in great waves when the pressure could no longer be held back. Each wave, however, was absorbed by Chinese civilization. The barbarians attempted to retain their tribal discipline, but eventually succumbed to an immobile, fixed way of life. The submission to civilization is reflected in the famous phrase of a conquering Mongolian: "One can't rule China from a horse."

Following an invasion, Chinese civilization would simply retreat inside smaller interiors. Each village had a wall around it, and the overlords, in order to collect taxes, were forced yearly to overrun each village individually. The solution to the inward withdrawal of the Chinese was for the barbarians to become Chinese themselves. In becoming civilized, they were encased inside the Great Wall, that is, they became inner spacemen on a national level. The Eastern barbarians, who were converted to civilization, thus distinguished themselves from Western barbarism, which had not been exhausted in its original spatial thrusts. The Chinese despised the Western barbarians as a people which they rightly considered inferior in civilization. The Great Wall has been replaced by the Silk Curtain, protecting the civilized Chinese inner space from outside disrupting forces.

Circum-Mediterranean lands, Africa, and America.—These three areas have been bastions of civilization, absorbing and converting barbarian raiders without a disruption of cultural continuity. Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the highly developed Gold Coast Negro kingdoms of Dahomey and Yoruba have periodically been conquered but have never been internally touched by barbarism. In Southern Europe, sophisticated civilizations were overrun by barbarism, only finally to recapture the area for civilization. Post-Homeric Greece represents a fusion of barbarian

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and civilized culture. Civilization emerged dominant in Rome with the extinguishing of Italic tribal unity. Subsequent barbarian invasions of Italy did not seriously disturb civilization there. In Spain the Visigoth barbarians met the barbarian energies of Arabic-speaking Berbers, who were however followed into Spain by civilized Jews and Moslems. Paradoxically, following the expulsion of the Moslems and the conquest of the New World, in which Visigoth energies were exhausted, modern Spanish culture emerged as a revitalized Roman civilization, diluted with a Middle Eastern admixture. France is civilized in so far as it is affiliated with the Mediterranean civilized area. I must also mention the high civilizations of Middle and South America, which absorbed their Spanish conquerors. The culture of the Spanish, in so far as it was influenced by Arabic and Mediterranean sources, was easily converted into an inner space culture. Mention should be made of the Spanish conception of the house as a "fortress," which derives from Roman culture rather than Visigoth barbarism. In present-day Latin America, every house, except perhaps the poorest, has a secure wall around it.

Europe.—Proto-European, or Indo-Germanic, barbarism originated on the wide Asian steppes, which left an unalterable impression on the European mentality. Southward barbarian thrusts into India, the Middle East, and Southern Europe were eventually absorbed by civilization, leaving only the trace of Indo-European language in the Indian, Persian, and Greek cultures. In Europe, however, the barbarian's only resistance in the Bronze Age invasions of B.C. 2000 was the numerically small and culturally primitive Megalithic peoples, who were mostly crowded aside into remote corners of Europe rather than be reduced to slavery or live in intimate and influential contact with the conquerors. Furthermore, the barbarians, with their bronze weapons and carts, had a more complex culture than the indigenous peoples. The barbarians did not find in Western Europe a high culture which they could imitate, so they could only develop their own culture which had already developed in the direction of advanced space-conquering machines and tactics. The fact that European swamps and forests were not conducive to chariots did not stop the barbarian thrust, which simply took to the seas. The outer spacemen therefore fashioned a highly barbaric way of life which, following the Italian Renaissance, finally overshadowed in its complexity civilized culture the world over.

Following the Bronze Age invasions, barbarians began to seek an outlet for their traditionally mobile habits. They evolved a "poetry of space," as I will show later, but their most conspicuous effort was a series of population movements, or *Völkerwanderungen*, in which one people displaced another in a chain

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reaction so complex that historians have not been able to follow it with certainty. The barbarian populations were originally small, which accounted first for their intense movement in the limited area of Northern and Central Europe; second, for their inability to penetrate the civilized domain of Rome; and third, for the fact that their culture remained relatively unsophisticated, or on the level of "low barbarism," even though on an individual level and *vis-à-vis* certain specific projects they showed ingenuity and creativeness higher than the civilized Romans. However, as populations grew, the movements, which had originally begun on the Asian steppes, began to seek more forcible expression. (A parallel can be drawn from modern America: the trans-American westward movement has been translated into the busy freeway life in Los Angeles.) Farming, which was the basis for the population increase, did not slow the movement but rather, on the contrary, exaggerated its consequences. Men now had to fight harder for their space. Northern Europe became a political challenge for the civilized world, whose culture had culminated in Rome. Following Rome's disaster, a complex series of spatial enterprises were launched from Europe. The Viking movements are an instance: 1. Vikings foraged as far as North America, Greenland, Sicily, the Middle East, and even China, where there were reports of "red-haired ravagers." These excursions burned themselves out. In America the Vikings were driven off by Indians, in Greenland they were lost to the climate, in Sicily they were absorbed by the indigenous peoples. 2. Vikings settled in Russia and took Slavic women for wives and slaves. They maintained trade contacts with the Scandinavian homeland to the west and Moslem countries to the south-east. They made towns on islands in the Volga River. The modern Russians are to a large extent descended from these outer spacemen. 3. Other Vikings based themselves in Scandinavia and, during short raids, fortified themselves in temporary earthwork bases on islands along the coast of Europe and Britain. (The earthwork fortification is in fact the true forerunner of the European and American city.) These Vikings always returned to their Scandinavian harbor towns. 4. The Vikings were the forerunners of, and thereby encouraged, the Crusaders. In the eleventh century they were the first to make headway in war against the Moslems. 5. The most successful Scandinavian settlements were Iceland and Normandy (and thence to England). Today among Scandinavians the remnant of Viking culture expresses itself in seamanship and mountain climbing (they are famed for mountain climbing in all parts of the world). However, although Scandinavian "Vikingism" was barbarism in a particularly pure form, the dominant impulse of all Europe and America is a fundamentally similar outer space culture.

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Following the Viking raids came the Crusades, which were similar in spirit to the Greek Trojan wars and the Roman Punic wars. The motive for the Crusades was not "religious" in the narrow sense of the word, but was an expression of the exuberant life energy of the barbarians which strove to penetrate and overcome vast geographic distances. Moslem civilization would have collapsed had not barbarian efforts been redirected in a much more promising effort, the exploration and conquest of the seas and lands to the west. From the eastern shores of the New World the barbarians were inexorably drawn west. The momentum of westward expansion has probably not yet exhausted itself, as interest and wars in Asia would indicate.

Finally, McNeill[8] says

> The spread of these warrior cultures brought a great revolution to European life. In place of the peaceable villagers and remote hunters and fishers, Europe was now dominated by warlike barbarians familiar with bronze metallurgy. In the linguistic sense, Europe was Europeanized, since the speech of the warrior peoples eventually supplanted the earlier languages of the Continent. In a profounder sense, too, the warrior ethos of the Bronze Age gave European society a distinctive and enduring bias. Europeans came to value individual prowess more highly than any other civilized people (save only the Japanese) found it fitting to do; and these attitudes, stemming ultimately from the style of life befitting warrior-herdsmen of the western steppes, have remained a basic part of the European inheritance down to the present day.

The spread of agriculture to Northern Europe did not bring with it a conversion to civilization. The barbarian farmer remained an outer spaceman, in contradistinction to the civilized or protocivilized peasant of the Mediterranean civilizations. In this connection Spengler makes the mistake of deriving European culture from a European peasantry, rooted to the soil and sacrificing its best men to the cities, where they are irreplaceably consumed in the civilizing effort.[9] The exhaustion of the peasantry, according to Spengler, is equivalent to the exhaustion of the life energy of a culture. A culture is mortal because the energy of the peasants who underlie it exists in limited quantity. The peasant is the basis of Europe as well as the Middle East, and the "decline of the West" follows the depletion of the agricultural stock.

However, Spengler may be challenged if European culture is regarded as derivative of barbarism rather than of peasantry. The

[8] W. H. McNeill, *Rise of the West*, The New American Library, 1963, p. 117.

[9] O. F. Bollnow, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

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image of the man with roots deep in the soil, attached there like the plants he tills, does not apply to the modern European and American farmer, nor to his prototype in early European history. Although some peasants do exist in Southern Germany, France, and Poland, nevertheless European agriculture has been made consistent with a mobile and warlike existence. Furthermore, in the modern era agriculture is secondary to industry and, while it is nevertheless necessary to the support of large populations, it is incidental in the value system of the outer spaceman. The peasant's view of life is directed downward into the soil, the barbarian's view is directed out into outer space.

The European outer spacemen have always been lazy farmers. The rural aristocrat, with his hunting dogs and his evening fireplace, is the descendant of a casual barbarian farmer who preferred war and hunting to tilling the soil, and so left the hard work to slaves, cripples, and women. His summers were spent widely foraging for booty and adventure, his winters were passed meditating and reminiscing in front of the hearth fire. He was an agriculturalist in that he saw to it that the fields were tilled and the harvest reaped, but he was not a peasant in his point of view. Rather he had the outlook of a free, roving warrior. For whole seasons, then, his farm might go untended while he was away on adventures. Slaves, women, children, and cripples would look after the fields and animals. His family would moreover be sustained by booty from raids. He was able to move his family wherever he could capture new land. This is in marked contrast to the peasants of the Euphrates and Nile valleys, cut off on all sides by deserts and mountains. In these places, land existed in limited supply and had to be divided among sons down through the generations. The Mediterranean peasant did not look beyond the line where the river valley met the desert.

The first known North European communities consisted of irregularly scattered houses. The barbarians of Tacitus' time liked space around their homes. Consequently, says Reinhardt, " Cities were unknown to the ancient Germans, and in the beginning they even refrained from settling down in those Roman cities which they had gained by conquest."[10] Small and medium-sized communities, which were little more than bases of operation, were also favored by the Scandinavians. For example, how could an island in the Volga River, in a country of hostile indigenous peoples, be considered a " home "? The same is in fact true of many little towns in Northern Europe, as well as forts along the American frontier. Concerning the foundation of larger settlements in Europe, McNeill[11] says: " . . . trade offered an alterna-

[10] K. F. Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[11] W. H. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

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tive way of getting possession of foreign goods formerly acquired through piracy. Oscillation between raiding and trading has certainly occurred repeatedly in history and was all the easier because even successful pirates seldom got the right assortment of booty for their own use and normally found it convenient to trade booty surpluses for such essentials as weapons or food."

Raiders and pirates became merchants. There was an underlying ethos or mentality passed from the piratical raider of the ninth century to the European merchant of the tenth century. The pirate raiders, says McNeill, probably changed from one endeavor to the other as was demanded by local conditions. But when trading became increasingly possible, groups of itinerant merchants continued, like their pirate predecessors, to conduct their own affairs and protect themselves. Such bands had a solidarity which rendered resistance to them difficult, and they could therefore establish themselves at will at some convenient place, usually near a palace, monastery, or under the walls of a castle. McNeill says that these merchant settlements were the first towns in Northern Europe and that our modern cities have grown from them. The towns grew mainly after 1000 A.D., but "the central and essential psychological and institutional forms of North European urban life were shaped in the chaotic age when piracy transmuted itself into trade."[12] It is not too much to suppose that not only the extensive commercial and military endeavours of European and American cities are to be explained in terms of their ancient pirate-barbarian heritage, but also the spatially sensitive world-view, the spiritual directions, can be accounted for in these terms. One notes that the American town, particularly of the American interior, is often called an "overgrown cowtown." This description is precisely correct. Cows imply pastoralism, pastoral peoples range widely, and as they range they are thrown in hostile contact with more permanent, settled peoples; hence "cows" involve militarism, a warlike ethos. Militarism is accompanied by a certain spiritual orientation in space as well as the motive to produce tactics and devices for overcoming space. Hence, the roving pastoralists, merchants, and warriors have always been open to distant lands, and it is logical that his hunger be translated into a spiritual horizon.

In lands from Byzantium to China the mentality of townspeople was essentially different than that of the reformed pirates. In these civilizations the artisans and traders catered first of all for the tastes of the castes above them. Their patrons were monarchs, landowners, and bureaucrats. The merchants were used to accepting authority and taxation from the upper ranks, but in return they depended upon these overlords for protection.

[12] W. H. McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

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This orientation toward safety was essentially different from that of the predatory, self-reliant, and spatially mobile ethos of Western European traders. "The distinctive characteristics of subsequent Western history arise largely from this fact; for in Europe, as elsewhere in the civilized world, towns became the principle centers and sustainers of high culture once the brute problems of economic and military survival had been solved."[13] But, although cities appeared in defined localities, they were interpreted more as bases than as containers of culture. The culture of the Europeans went out over the borders of the cities, in radical distinction to the Athens of Socrates and the cities of Byzantium, the Middle East, India and China. Even when the modern European "barbarian" stayed within his city, his outlook was deeply determined by the collective experience of space which derived from ancient barbarian times.

The premise of Western culture is the idea of limitless space, a notion without which the modern Western creative thrust would be unthinkable. The most impressive developments in the space technology are presupposed by a history of culture beginning, not with modern or ancient "civilization," but with a space-hungry predatory existence of the Bronze Age. It is not surprising that a people which lived in the outer space of the Earth should look out so earnestly at the stars, not merely for purposes of astrological predictions or even out of curiosity, but also with a kind of hunger. Spengler[14] says: "The rejection of a 'vault of heaven' is not a sense perception but rather a *resolve*."

Spengler makes the remarkable assertion that classical man did not want to, and willed not to, perceive limitless space. His philosophical systems did not deal with it *per se* but rather were oriented toward tangible things and the relations between them. The center of the universe was Earth, which was considered immovable. The modern Western feeling for space was radically different, just as the Westerner's mobile way of life contrasted with the city-oriented life of the Greek. Spengler says: "Hier kam das altnordishe Lebensgefühl, die Wikingersehnsucht nach dem Grenzenlosen zu ihrem Rechte." ("Here the old Nordic feeling of life, the Viking yearning for the boundless distances, came of age.") The invention of the telescope expressed the will to shove the old boundaries of space outward, so far indeed that this space came to be conceived as infinite. The vision of the stars awoke in Western man a profound religious feeling, intimately interwoven, says Spengler, with his Will to Power. The perception

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Otto Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abenlandes,* Verlag C. H. Beck, Munich, 1963. ". . die Verneinung des 'Himmelsgewëlbes' ein *Entschluss,* keine sinnliche Erfahrung, ist."

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of the stars therefore had nothing in it of a so-called scientific necessity, although the "facts" were there for both peoples to see. It was an arbitrary question whether the "facts" were to be accounted for in terms of a two-dimensional system (Aristotle's crystal spheres), or in vitally three-dimensional terms. What was arbitrary was subjected to the laws of culture, so that the classical and North European cultures projected astronomical models which conformed with other aspects of their respective ways of life. These cultures were in turn derived by different historical experiences. The Greeks, although apparently they were originally invaders from outside Greece, had settled there permanently. Their vision did not go substantially beyond their city and countryside limits, except for specifically commercial purposes. The European culture, on the other hand, was derived from a Bronze Age population of invaders who had already had a prolonged experience on the steppes of Iran, and who, once in Europe, did not give up their restless movement but spent their energy in voyages and Vikingism. Their experience was translated into their systems of astronomy, which is the sense of Spengler's assertion that their picture of the heavens was not a matter of objective perception but rather an aspiration. In the voyages of the Vikings, Western man was preparing for flight into outer space, and what came between was a visual exploration via the telescope and astronomy. This was the true passion of astronomy. But whereas our view of the universe is for us a necessity of thought, it would have appeared nonsense to the ancient Greek. There was nothing in open space that interested him or pertained to him. His life was in his city and home. By the same token, such a spatially confined life would be confining for ourselves. We would consider it a prison, just as we presently are approaching the point where we regard the Earth itself as a prison. We yearn to get out of it, to explore the vast reaches of space on the other side of the sun and farther.

Western mathematics has opened up with the expansion of the universe as infinite interrelations in space were charted. The closed Euclidean geometry has given way to three-dimensional geometry and infinitesimal calculus. Again, while Plato held mathematics to be something absolute and rigid, the history of mathematics shows distinctive developments within the framework of different cultures. Spengler says that there is no such thing as a mathematics, there are only mathematics (plural). Hence modern Western mathematics reveals a concern for space, whereas Greek geometry, for example, dealt only with points on flat surfaces.

There is, moreover, the same underlying mentality in both mathematics and art, which are creative endeavors in response

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to particular historical experiences. A three-dimensional mathematics is consistent with an art that reveals a concern for backgrounds and the rendering of depth. Spengler contrasts North European with ancient painting by saying that the latter directs itself at the viewer, whereas the former takes the viewer into its own sphere (p. 424). The history of art traces the opening of space in Western culture. Lewis Mumford[15] points out that in the Middle Ages space tended to be defined in terms of values. "Space was divided arbitrarily to represent the seven virtues or the 12 apostles or the ten commandments or the trinity. Without constant symbolic reference to the fables and myths of Christianity the rationale of medieval space would collapse." With the Renaissance, the "ethical" division of space was replaced temporarily by a Neo-Platonic framework, wherein closed geometric forms such as the circle were imposed on space. Michelangelo's "David" and Raphael's "Virgin with St. John the Baptist" illustrate the tendency to close space. Michelangelo said of his "David" that it could be rolled down a hill without breaking off its arms. However, the "revival" of the Greek tradition was artificial and could not long conceal that the Renaissance was an unleashing of a latent spiritual energy, ancient in source but new in expression, derived from a specifically "Aryan" historical experience. Renaissance painting began to open up its figures and devote more attention to background detail. Arms and hands gestured away from figures rather than closing a circle. The Italian Renaissance, no longer bound to the classical tradition, first accomplished in a spiritual sphere what the Vikings were accomplishing, through difficult voyages, in a practical way. It is not surprising that an Italian painter, Leonardo, among his other technical drawings, first conceived of an airplane. In the drawing the artist's vision of space was a step closer to a living reality, one which, however, had already been an experience in the artist's racial-historical past.

Dutch and German painting followed the Italian example but gave even more passionate emphasis to background space in the interiors which open into courtyards, courtyards which open into blue, hazy distances beyond. The eye is finally drawn off into limitless space. The foreground exists not as the "theme" of the aesthetic production but simply as an initial resting point for the eye as it enters the picture. The foreground object serves to carry the eye into the background. Or it may exist only as an excuse to present a distant vista. Even the distant mountains and clouds are not the end result of the painting, its purpose, but rather are mere

[15] Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1963, p. 18.

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handles whereby we can grasp the living presence of space. Space itself is that which the painting dramatizes.

The historical experience of space in the barbarian migrations has pervaded all modern Western culture. The indigenous European culture, to the extent that it influenced the invading culture, was translated into the spatially aspiring steeples and vaulted interiors of the Gothic cathedral. The pagan religions also reflected the thrust into space. The gods were conceived not as sitting on great thrones or perched somewhere in the mountains, but rather as thundering across the heavens in chariots. Moreover, the Viking grave, for instance, was not conceived as a "final resting place," but rather as a base for a long voyage. In contrast, say, to the Egyptian burial in which a dead king was supplied with the means for a comfortable but stationary afterlife — slaves and furniture in a stone tomb — the Viking was buried with transport to another world, most often with a ship or cart. Either the Viking (or Anglo-Saxon) seafarer was buried or he was set off to sea in a burning ship. For a poorer warrior, the gravestones were set around the body in the shape of a ship. Carts and sledges have also been found in land burials. Brondsted[16] describes one Viking grave as ". . . a woman lying in the body of a carriage inside the earthen grave: a ritual which seems to suggest that she was conceived as riding in death to her final destination."

I should not omit the fact that, as with all nomadic peoples, the North Europeans were a patriarchal people with masculine and warlike gods. The feminine, moralistic religions of human charity and woman-like kindness come from the more rooted and agricultural communities of the south, where the gods, although they may be male, have attributes which the northern pagans would, and did, find incompatible with their favourite pursuit, war. Among the Nordic peoples, a man could win access to paradise only by being brave in battle — he could be destructive of human life and predatory, the opposite of the oriental Jewish and Christian virtues which were later imposed on the Nordics. Among the agricultural southerners, the virtues of productivity and the fostering of human life were the key to paradise, which was not an exclusive assemblage of fellow warriors but was open to everyone, at least potentially through the carrying out of certain religious actions. Paradise was a Christian democracy.

Religion underscores a development in the entire modern culture. Just as in art and religion spatial barriers were successively broken down or overrun, so also the Europeans freed themselves from the notion of specific space, that is space bound to particular objects and states of being. There came to be only *the* space. For example, as the Bronze Age warriors settled in Europe

[16] Johannes Brondsted, *The Vikings*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1960.

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they were intellectually unable to free themselves from the narrow idea of space in which their new homeland was the "center of the world." Indeed, as is the case with many primitive peoples, the barbarians brought with them when they moved the "center of the world" in the form of a post or pillar, which they planted anew in their new home.[17] In the development of their spiritual tradition, the awakening European mind saw space in terms of what Cassier called "mythical space." For example, the south was conceived as the land of warmth, medicine and agriculture; the north was the space of cold and warriors; the west that of hunters; the east the space of magic and religion. Mythical geography was for Cassier an "expression of a definite type of viewpoint, in consequence of which all types and species of beings have somewhere a 'homeland' in space."[18] Even our word "orientation," which can apply to both spatial and spiritual adjustment, comes from the word "Orient," the East, where, as the sun sets there, the traveler can "orient" himself by watching the sinking sun.[19] The person or community conceived himself or itself as the center of "all" space.

The wandering barbarians could eventually, however, translate their experience into the perception of the individual moment, wherein the person was truly without a necessary plot of land under his feet. As a wanderer he could see that there was more than just one center, that space was a uniform and centerless continuum. Space was thus an abstraction from everyday experience in which the person and group were mobile without respect to territorial limits. Space was without a center because the people themselves had no center beyond what they occupied at a given moment. The home city was simply a "base" directed at several distant objectives. The base was merely one of several possible resting places. The spatial centerlessness is the essence of all North European and American cities. Likewise, only in such a mobile state could the idea of space *per se*, apart from any external and objective limitations, arise.

In conclusion, Spengler[20] says:

> If, in fine, we look at it all together — the expansion of the Copernican world-picture into that aspect of stellar space that we possess today; the development of Columbus's discovery into a worldwide command of the earth's surface by the West; the perspective of oil painting and of tragedy scene; the sublimed home feeling; the passion of our civilization for

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] O. F. Bollnow, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[19] O. F. Bollnow, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[20] Otto Spengler, *Decline of the West*, Knopf, New York, 1926, p. 337.

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swift transit; the conquest of the air; the exploration of the Polar regions; and the climbing of almost impossible mountain peaks — we see, emerging everywhere, the prime-symbol of the Faustian (Western) soul, Limitless Space. And those specially . . . Western creations of the soul-myth called " Will," " Force " and " Deed " must be regarded as derivatives of this prime-symbol.

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Viking Ships

Kjartan Magnusson, of P.O. Box 599, Reykjavik, Iceland, writes: I always read your journal with great interest. When reading the article by Mr Richard Swartzbaugh (Volume X, Number 4), wherein he cites Spengler on the Viking ships, a point of some interest came to my mind. I think that it is generally asserted that the Viking ship was a purely Nordic invention not directly derived from the types of ships used in the Mediterranean in ancient times. The many great advantages of the Viking ship have been proved in recent times by the sailing of a replica of the famous Gokstad ship to America. The construction of the hull frame is based on the principle of seaming by leather ropes (neither wooden nor metal nails being used), which points to skinboats similar to the curragh as their forerunners. (One tends to disbelieve the evolutionists' theory of a hollowed tree bole as the prototype of all ships.) All this I assume that you know, but perhaps not that ships or boats of the exactly same type as the Viking ships were used in Mesopotamia 700 years before Christ, or even earlier according to a relief from the North palace of Assurbanipal in Nineveh, now in the Louvre. That is what came to my mind when reading Swartzbaugh's article. I think that from this fact many of the special features of the Viking ships could be explained, such as their shallowness, their long and narrow hull, their light weight. All these features made it easy to haul the ships across land—a fact which is frequently mentioned in the old sagas. The Viking ships are not of the type which one might have expected to be built for ocean sailing, though they were also very good for that. Thus it seems that the Viking ships reached Scandinavia over the mainland via the Great Russian rivers (the southern part of Russia is in the old books named Sweden the Great). Also, many words and poetic expressions relating to the Viking ships might be explained from their originating for use on rivers along with horses on the land. I am inclined to think that here lies the key to many riddles in the history of our forebears. In this connection I may mention that one great riddle regarding the Nordic Vikings' navigational ability has recently been solved. According to the old Icelandic books they possessed a stone which they called "Sólarstein" — a solar or sunstone by which they were able to locate the direction of the sun in cloudy weather by looking through it. A Norwegian aeronaut has now pointed out that this must have been a crystal which could "polarize" the light by the same principle as is now being used in the ultra-modern "solar-compasses" in the aeroplanes on the North polar route when the magnetic compass is out of action.

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Journals Received

GENUS

Journal of the Italian Committee for the Study of Population Problems and of the Italian Society of Eugenics, Editor: Corrado Gini. Via delle Terme di Diocleziano 10, Rome, Italy. Price 3000 lire; U.S. $6.

Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-4, 1969.

Contents: A Monte Carlo Simulation of Human Reproduction, by John C. Barrett; Gainful Occupation and Motherhood — The Position of Women in Hungary, by Egon Szabady; Nuzialità, natalità e cicli brevi dell'economia — L'esperienza italiana tra il 1863 e il 1965, by Antonio Santini; Recenti variazioni dei modelli di nuzialità in Italia, Paolo de Sandre.

RACE

Journal of the Institute of Race Relations. Published quarterly by the Oxford University Press. Price 20s.

Vol. XII, No. 2, October 1970.

Contents: Law and the Unequal Society: Discriminatory Legislation in Rhodesia under the Rhodesian Front from 1963 to 1969: Part 2, by Claire Palley; The British Conservatives and the Racial Issue in the Debate on Decolonization, by Dan Horowitz; Patterns of Friendship Choices in an Ethnically-Mixed Junior School, by M. O. A. Durojaiye; Racial Discrimination by British Employers, by C. Selby Smith; African and European Social Clubs in Rural Ghana, by A. F. Robertson.

ETHNOLOGY

A quarterly journal of cultural and social anthropology, published by the University of Pittsburgh, 4200 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213. Price $5 per year.

Vol. IX, No. 3, July 1970.

Contents: The Samoan Funeral in Urban America, by Joan Ablon; Dual Organizations in Southern Ethiopia: Anthropological Imagination or Ethnographic Fact, by Ammon Orent; Exposure and Seclusion: A Study of Institutionalized Isolation Among the Mehinacu Indians of Brazil, by Thomas Gregor; Bajau Sex and Reproduction, by H. Arlo Nimmo; Structure and Variability in the Jale Kinship Terminology: A Formal Analysis, by Klaus-Friedrich Koch; Subsistence Economy and Supportive Practices: Cross-Cultural Codes, by George P. Murdock and Diana O. Morrow.

JOURNAL OF RACIAL AFFAIRS

Published by Uitgege deur SABRA, P.O. Box 2768, Pretoria.

Vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1970.

Contents: The Agricultural Potential of the Bantu Homelands, by Dr J. H. Grobler; The Future Role of the Bantu in Public Administration, by Prof. dr P. J. Coertze; the Vhavanda of Vendaland; Book Reviews, etc.

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JOURNAL OF BIOSOCIAL SCIENCE

A quarterly journal published for the Galton Foundation by Blackwell Scientific Publications, 5 Alfred Street, Oxford, England. Price 37s. 6d.

Vol. II, No. 4, October 1970.

Contents: Do Child Welfare Clinics Influence Growth, by Patricia Desai, Leotta M. Clarke and Catherine E. Heron; Heights and Weights of Schoolchildren in St. Vincent, by M. T. Ashcroft and A. C. K. Antrobus; Trends in Pregnancy and Fertility in a Rural Area of East Pakistan, by John Stoeckel and Moqbul A. Choudhury; Aspects of Old Age in Age-specific Mortality Rates, by W. R. Bytheway; An Analysis of Coital Patterns, by J. C. Barrett.

THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW

Published three times a year by the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, New York, in co-operation with the Research and Information Division of the Department of Immigration, Washington D.C., and the Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome. Price $7.00.

Vol. IV, No. 2, Spring 1970.

Contents: Some Theoretical Guidelines Toward a Sociology of Migration, by J. J. Mangalam and Harry Scharzweller; Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants to, and from, the United States, by Eve E. Sandis; The Origins of Ethnic Radicalism in Northern Minnesota, 1900-1920, by Neil Betten; The New Deal, the Immigrants and Congressman Vito Marcantonio, by Salvatore J. LaGumina.

Vol. IV, No. 3, Summer 1970.

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THEORY AND DECISION

An international journal for philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Published by D. Reidal Publishing Co., Dordrecht, Holland. Price: 4 issues Dfl. 69.80 ($19.55).

Vol. I, No. 1, October 1970.

Contents: Specification of Objectives in Decision Problems, by Karl Borch; Critères de choix en avenir incertain. Propriétès des solutions optimales — Extension à la dynamique, by P. Malgrange; On Subjective Probability and Related Problems, by Günter Menges; Cost-benefit Versus Expected Utility Acceptance Rules, by Alex C. Michalos; On the Possibility of Rational Policy Evaluation, by Thomas Schwartz; Book Reviews.

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BULLETIN

A monthly journal published by the Institute for the Study of the USSR, 8 Munich 22, Mannhardtstrasse 6, Germany.

Vol. XVII, No. 1, January 1970.

Contents: Nationalism in the Estonian Communist Party, by Rein Taagepera; The Third All-Union Congress of Kolkhozniks, by Keith Bush; The Psychology of Religion: The Present Soviet Stand, by Anita Glassl; Book Reviews, etc.

Vol. XVII, No. 2, February 1970.

Contents: Stalin — Monster or Functionary? by H. Akhminov; The Exclusion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the Writers' Union, by George Pismenny; Book Reviews, etc.

EPISTEME

Quarterly review of critical works concerning the history of medical and biological sciences. Published by Episteme, Via Orti 5, 1220122 Milano. Price: Lit. 5.000 ($9.00).

No. 3, July-September 1970.

Contents: On the Color of the Blood from Lavoisier to Hoppe-Seyler, by Charles A. Culotta; Osservazioni storiche sulla malaria net Ferrarese nei suoi rapporti con talassemia e favismo, by Cesare Menini; Contributions to the History of Leukemia, by Eugene Stransky; La prime descrizione della "Borsa di Fabrici" organo linfoide centrale degli uccelli, by Giuseppe Ongaro; Book Reviews.

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Book Reviews

DER NEUE EXTERNSTEINE — FÜHRER

By Herman Wirth. Volkstum-Verlag. Wien IV, 1969. Pp. 134. Price D.M. 12.80.

This well illustrated book is not a guide (Führer) in the ordinary sense of the word. It summarises the contents of a work of two volumes entitled *Europäische Urreligion und die Externsteine*, by the same author, who is professor in Marburg an der Lahn. This latter book will appear before long as the conclusion of his life work.

Professor Wirth collected and studied a great number of symbols and figures detected on the Megalithic monuments of Western Europe, North Africa, Transjordan, Syria and other parts of the world, and by comparing them mutually and with the rock engravings of Bohus-län (in Southern Sweden) and marks on objects of a later date, succeeded in determining their religious meaning. By doing so he was able to reconstruct — at least partially — the religion of the Megalithic people of Neolithic times (B.C. 4000-2000) and became at the same time the founder of a new branch of science: the study of primitive European religion based mainly on the interpretation of ancient symbols and rock engravings.

In this book he proves in a convincing manner that the Megalithic people, who bequeathed to us thousands of chambered tombs and other monuments (menhirs, cromlechs, and so on) in the regions named above, adored a father-god of heaven and a mother-goddess of earth, whose son was revered as a bringer of luck and welfare (Heilbringer). This "Son of Heaven and Earth" returned every year in mid-winter to the underworld, where he died, to be reborn out of the womb of his mother, symbolising by the course of his life the succession of the three seasons of spring, summer and winter. The day of his resurrection — the autumnal equinox — was the main religious feast of the year, the end of which was symbolised by a cross.

As a cosmic myth, this ancient religion had developed out of the worship of a mother-goddess by the Palaeolithic hunters of the Aurignacien and Magdalénien (B.C. 40,000-13,000), while some of its symbols were found in the grotto of Mas d'Azil (Eastern Pyrenees) dating from Mesolithic times (B.C. 13,000-4000). In the same manner as its forerunner, which had spread eastward as far as Siberia, the Megalithic religion expanded south-eastward to reach Arabia and Mesopotamia, where some of its symbols are found in the remains of the Sabaean culture of the Yemen and in the ancient script of Susa.

The main sanctuary of this ancient world religion was — as Professor Wirth presumes — the Externsteine, a rock formation of a wonderful configuration in Westphalia, in the environment of the Teutoburger Wald. These imposing rocks, the name of which could be a corruption of *eccestan* ("mother-stone"), contains two ancient caves, while its walls show a number of symbols and drawings. Although much of it was destroyed during Christianisation, Professor Wirth contrived to recreate most of them by the use of ultra-violet and infra-red films. On the ground of this thorough investigation he sees in the Externsteine the main centre of this ancient religion, where three priestesses, called "mothers", officiated (p. 87). Professor Wirth speaks in this connection (p. 113) of a "religious matriarchate" without expressing an opinion on the question, and whether also a social matriarchate existed.

In spite of my admiration for the originality of this work and the ingenuity of its argument, I must raise here a serious objection. The

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author speaks repeatedly (on pp. 3, 7 and 31) of the "Megalithic religion", but calls in other contexts the sanctuary of the *eccestan* and its mysteries "primitive Indo-Germanic" ("urindogermanisch," pp. 62, 63 and 78). In this manner two prehistoric cultures in his work are confounded: the Megalithic culture, which was mainly a creation of the Atlantic (or Dalic) race and had its centre in the maritime part of Western Europe, and the band-ceramic culture, which originated in the eastern part of Central Europe and very probably was the product of the Nordic race.

It is true that Professor Wirth mentions some facts that seem to justify this generalisation, but they can all be explained otherwise. He found the symbols of the Megalithic religion on the band-ceramic of the Tripolje culture (in the region of the Dniepr), from where they were brought by West Indo-Germans of the so-called Kentum group to the löss region of Kan-su, on the north-western border of China. However, these Indo-Germans were the Tocharians (Greek *Tocharoi*; Chinese *Yuee-tji*), who were partly of Atlantic descent and who, according to the German prehistorian Menghin, settled temporarily in the Dniepr region before migrating to East Turkestan. Nor can the tale of the birth of Agni, contained in the *Rig-Veda,* serve as an argument, because the Aryans, who invaded India, came from South Russia, where they must have been in contact with other peoples, among others the Tocharians.

Professor Wirth himself speaks of the Battleaxe people, who conquered the *eccestan* and murdered its prophetess about B.C. 2000 (pp. 10 and 134). It is not to be assumed that these Indo-Germans desecrated a sanctuary of their own religion. Further, it is to be remarked that all the Indo-Germanic peoples, at their appearance in history, adored gods who were mainly masculine and possessed a patriarchal social structure. The case of the Teutons, who conserved — as Professor Wirth rightly points out — many observances and institutions of the Megalithic religion, is not conclusive, as they were partly of Atlantic, partly of Nordic descent. The amalgamation of both religions must have followed the conquest of the north-eastern part of the country of the Megalithic people (the "Hünengräbervolk"), and not at the time of the Germanic migration, as the author supposes. In my opinion this misinterpretation spoils much of his following speculations, however interesting and worthy of consideration they may be. Nevertheless this book will be indispensable for all who wish to study the religious concepts of our forbears.

F. J. Los.

THE AFRIKANERS

By John Fisher. Cassell, London, 1969. 34 illustrations, 8 maps, pp. 380. Price £2.50.

This book is one of the first studies of its kind dealing in some depth with the origins and the history of the Afrikaner people. Their beginnings commenced 300 years ago at the Cape as Dutch settlers. Ultimately they rebelled against the Dutch Government, became fiercely independent and migrated north into the Transvaal out of Cape Province. It was there that for the first time they came into contact with the Bantu tribes who had never entered the Cape proper. As a result of their robbing the farms and cattle of the Afrikaners the latter came into conflict with these marauders. Later the Afrikaners found themselves also in conflict with the British in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As the author quite rightly points out they are little better understood outside South Africa today than in the days of the Boer War. "Then, they were freedom fighters against John Bull's colonialist imperialism.

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Then, they were the darlings of Britain's Liberal Party and of her early Socialists, as, today, they are their villains." The author goes on to say:

> Few outside South Africa praise separate development yet the Afrikaner can console himself with the thought that there has been fighting between Whites and non-Whites in other territories such as Kenya and Angola where there is (or was) no separate development.
>
> He can argue that the Coloureds in the Cape are now just as grateful for White protection and for regulations that safeguard their civilisation from encroachment by the Bantu, as the Indians in Natal were in 1949 when the Zulus rose and threatened to exterminate them.
>
> He can ask his critics how else they would have proposed to re-house — or even house at all — the Bantu in cities if this were not to be in special housing estates. . . .
>
> He can point to the fact that the Protectorates, since they have become independent, have been able to share in South Africa's prosperity in a way that was never possible in the days when Britain was still "protecting" them and failing to develop their economy. As in the days of yore, the Afrikaners have agreements with friendly non-White chiefs in the neighbouring territories.

Incidentally, it is interesting to know, from the author's account of the settlement of the Dutch at the Cape under Van Riebeeck, that among the Dutch there was certainly at least one Scotsman, Harman Williamson from Edinburgh, who received severe punishment for disobedience in resistance towards his superior officers aboard the yacht *Joutsbloom*. It is unlikely that he was the only Scotsman in the original Dutch settlement. This strand of Scottish blood seems therefore to have run through the Afrikaners from the beginning of their establishment in South Africa which was from 1652.

From the ethnological point of view the author is, in our opinion, quite right in describing the Hottentots as "nomad Mongol-like herdsmen," as this is certainly what they are by all normal estimation of their racial traits.

In the first settlement of the time of Van Riebeeck slaves were introduced. The first consignment had been taken off a Portuguese slaver which was taking them from Angola to Brazil. Therefore, although the Bantu never reached the Cape, Negroes were in fact introduced into the Cape by the Dutch themselves as slaves. It should, however, be pointed out that the children of these slaves once baptised were given their freedom. Because of this no Negro *slave* population, as such, arose in the Cape, while at the same time Negroes have never been in such numbers as to constitute any significant population as in the Southern states of America. Cape Province has never been a Negro or Bantu territory.

Of Van Riebeeck we learn (p. 11) that he was of a well-connected family which had been granted a coat of arms as far back as 1388, and that his father had married the daughter of the Burgermeister of Culemborg. His wife was a French Huguenot.

The Huguenots arrived following the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. They were followed by the British who began to settle at the Cape from 1795 onwards. In 1795 a Scottish general, Major-General James Henry Craig, was able to enforce the capitulation of Rustenburg.

To the ethnologist the book has the very common irritating habit of using the word English for British. This is particularly out of place for the British settlement in the Cape, where so many of the generals and other officials were not only Scottish from 1795 onwards, but where many Scottish regiments were employed. In addition, that many of the 1820 settlers were of the same nationality is a well-known fact. Also the author himself points out that Scottish Presbyterian ministers were sent out with

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Scottish schoolmasters as a deliberate act of policy because they were closer akin to the Dutch than the English. Accuracy in these matters is highly desirable both from the historical and ethnological point of view. This Scottish element, incidentally, has frequently, as we have already indicated elsewhere, entered into the Afrikaner's stock. The Murrays, in particular, are a greatly honoured section of the Afrikaner Presbyterian or Calvinist tradition.

THE BLACK DEATH

By Philip Ziegler. Collins, London. 1969. Map. Pp. 319. Price £1.80.

The numbers killed by the Black Death can never be properly ascertained. Claims have varied from half of the population to very much higher, but these figures are, no doubt, exaggerated. Nevertheless it is clear that the estimates of the Scottish chroniclers giving consistently one third of the population indicate that Scotland for some reason suffered less than others. What is, however, of genetic significance is that whereas there is evidence to show that generally the masses suffered worse than the upper classes, in Scotland the statements are emphatic that this was so — as John Fordun says "the meaner sort and common people" were the chief sufferers of the plague (p. 200). It can, therefore, be assumed that this must have been a factor in ensuring the high quality of the Scottish population, for the elimination of a large part of the "meaner sort" would make room for their replacement by people who were without doubt (on average) of better genetic as well as social endowment. Much the same thing must have been true all over Europe, if not elsewhere, along the line of the march of the plague from inner Asia, although in many cases the social incidence of it may not have been so marked as in Scotland.

This is a book and a subject well worthy of study from the point of view of its genetic effects. It might well have been ultimately a factor in the flowering of the Renaissance.

An interesting fact which emerges is the difference between the commonsense observation of the mass of the people that the plague spread on contact, and the fantastic theories of the doctors and scholars of that time. We have here a lesson for our own times when we find sociologists, social historians, and political philosophers at complete variance with the observed facts of the average man.

The author brings out the fact that for several hundred years up to the thirteenth century there had been a population explosion followed at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century by famine conditions (when there were bad harvests), and a reduction of the peasantry. This was the state of affairs when the bubonic plague struck, carried from Asia by the flea which is carried by several rodents including the black rat. The population conditions, with the maximum population before the Black Death, were not equalled again in many parts of Europe until the twentieth century. The Black Death came as a corrective of the over-population of the world in the middle of the sixteenth century.

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